

ROCK-CUT ELEPHANT ABOVE THE ASOKA INSCRIPTION AT DHAULI, ORISSA

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA

FROM 600 B.C. TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST

INCLUDING THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

BY

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PREFACE TO FIRST EDITION

THE plan and limitations of this book have been explained so fully in the Introduction that little more need be said by way of preface. The room for difference of opinion on many of the subjects treated is so great that I cannot expect my views on controverted points to meet with universal acceptance; and the complexity of my undertaking forbids me to hope that positive errors, justly open to censure, have been avoided altogether; but I trust that critics will be prepared to concede the amount of indulgence which may be granted legitimately to the work of a pioneer.

The devotion of a disproportionately large space to the memorable invasion of Alexander the Great is due to the exceptional interest of the subject, which, so far as I know, has not been treated adequately in any modern book. The extreme brevity of the fourteenth and fifteenth chapters, dealing with the mediaeval kingdoms of the North and the Deccan, which may be open to adverse criticism, is attributable to the limited interest of merely local histories. In the final chapter an attempt has been made to give an intelligible outline of the history of the South, so far as it has been ascertained. The story of the Dravidian nations seems to me deserving of more attention than it generally receives.

The presentation of cumbrous and unfamiliar

Oriental names must always be a difficulty for a writer on Indian history. I have endeavoured to secure reasonable uniformity of spelling without pedantry. The system of transliteration followed in the notes and appendices is substantially that used in the *Indian Antiquary*; while in the text long vowels only are marked where necessary and all other diacritical signs are discarded.

Vowels have values as in Italian; except short *a*, which is pronounced like *u* in *but*, when with stress, and like *A* in *America*, when without stress. The consonants are to be pronounced as in English; and *ch*, consequently, is represented in French by *tch*, and in German by *tsch*; similarly *j* is equivalent to the French *dj* and the German *dsch*. The international symbol *c* for the English *ch*, as in *church*, which has been adopted by the Asiatic Societies, may have some advantages in purely technical publications; but its use results in such *monstra horrenda* as *Cac* for *Chach*, and is unsuitable in a work intended primarily for English and Indian readers.

I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of help of various kinds from the following gentlemen:—M. Édouard Chavannes, Professor au Collège de France; Mr. J. S. Cotton, editor of the *Indian Imperial Gazetteer*; Mr. William Crooke; Professor Rhys Davids; Dr. J. F. Fleet, C.I.E.; Dr. Rudolf Hoernle, C.I.E.; Mr. J. Kennedy; M. Sylvain Lévi; Professor E. J. Rapson; and Mr. R. Sewell.

line of the text and notes of the first
as been subjected to careful scrutiny and
In the course of this process minute
of various kinds have been eliminated,
ressions of opinion have been modified, a
ıges have been excised, and numerous
itions have been made to both text and
'hese minor changes, although consider-
he aggregate, cannot be enumerated in

will be convenient to indicate the nature
ıt of the larger changes made in this

ix D, 'Aornos and Embolima', has been
th reference to Dr. Stein's report on his
ahāban in 1904, which renders untenable
that that mountain represents Aornos.
ent publication of translations of long
om the ancient treatise on the 'Art of
nt', attributed to Chānakya, the minister
ıgupta Maurya, has enabled me to give
nfirmation and illustrations of the Greek
f the Maurya polity (pp. 134–6). The
Asoka's grandson, Samprati, and of
pposed connexion with Khotan have
ed (pp. 180–2).
unt of the Saka migration and the Indo-

Parthian kings has been recast in the light of the most recent researches on the subject (pp. 212–17). The alleged connexion of the Apostle Thomas with the Christian churches of Southern India is considered briefly (pp. 221, 222).

The much-debated date of Kanishka is examined (pp. 241–3). The traditions of the so-called 'Chinese hostages' of Kanishka are discussed at length (pp. 245, 246; new App. L, pp. 260–4).

The account of the Buddhist leanings of two Gupta kings is new (pp. 291–3); as is also the notice of the Chinese Buddhist mission in 539 A.D. (p. 295). The observations on the Gurjaras and the origin of the Rājpūt clans (p. 303) introduce a subject treated more fully in chapter xiv. The discussion of the identity of the kingdom of Mo-la-p'o (pp. 304–7) has been rewritten. A short notice of the Hindu kingdom of Sind has been inserted (pp. 328, 329).

Chapter xiv, 'The Mediaeval Dynasties of the North from 648 to 1200 A.D.,' has been enlarged from 20 pp. to 50 pp. A summary account of the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet is given (pp. 333, 335, 336). Section III, 'Kāmarūpa or Assam,' is new. Section IV, 'Kashmīr,' has been expanded. Section V is mostly new, and gives for the first time a detailed account of the Parihār (Gurjara-Pratihāra) kingdom of Kanauj. The notice of the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan is based on the researches of the late Major Raverty. Section VIII, 'The Pāla and Sena Dynasties of Bihār and Bengal,' has been much

rged; and Section IX, 'The Rājpūt Clans,' new.

Chapter xv, 'The Kingdoms of the Deccan,' is more detailed than in the first edition, but not much increased in bulk. A table of the three principal dynasties (App. M.) has been inserted.

Chapter xvi, 'The Dynasties of the South,' has been rewritten, and increased from 25 pp. to 34 pp.

The Index has been recast so as to include references to the new matter.

In addition to an unceasing stream of official reports of the Archaeological Survey and of articles in periodicals, the following separate works, not at my disposal when the first edition was published, have been utilized in the preparation of this one:—*Corolla Numismatica*, Oxford, 1906; Crooke, *Things Indian*, London, 1906; Ettinghausen, *Harṣa Vardhana*, Louvain, 1906; Foucher, *L'Art Gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, vol. i (all published), Paris, 1905; Gait, *A History of Assam*, Calcutta, 1906; Guérinot, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*, Paris, 1906; Konow and Lanman, *Rājaśekhara's Karpūramañjarī*, Cambridge, Mass., 1901; Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, vols. i and ii (all published), Paris, 1904, 1905; Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London, 1905; Ojha, *Early History of the Solankīs*, part i (all published, in Hindī), Ajmēr, 1907; [Pillai], V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, Madras, 1904; Ryder, *The Little Clay Cart* (*Mṛchhakaṭika*), Cambridge, Mass., 1905; Smith, V. A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. i, Oxford,

1906; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, Oxford, 1907; Tchang, *Synchronismes Chinois*, Chang-hai, 1905; Various authors, *The Indian Empire*, 4 vols. (being introduction to *Imperial Gazetteer*, new ed.), Oxford, 1907; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 vols., London, 1904, 1905.

I desire to thank numerous critics and correspondents for corrections, references, and helpful suggestions.

V. A. S.

20th December, 1907.

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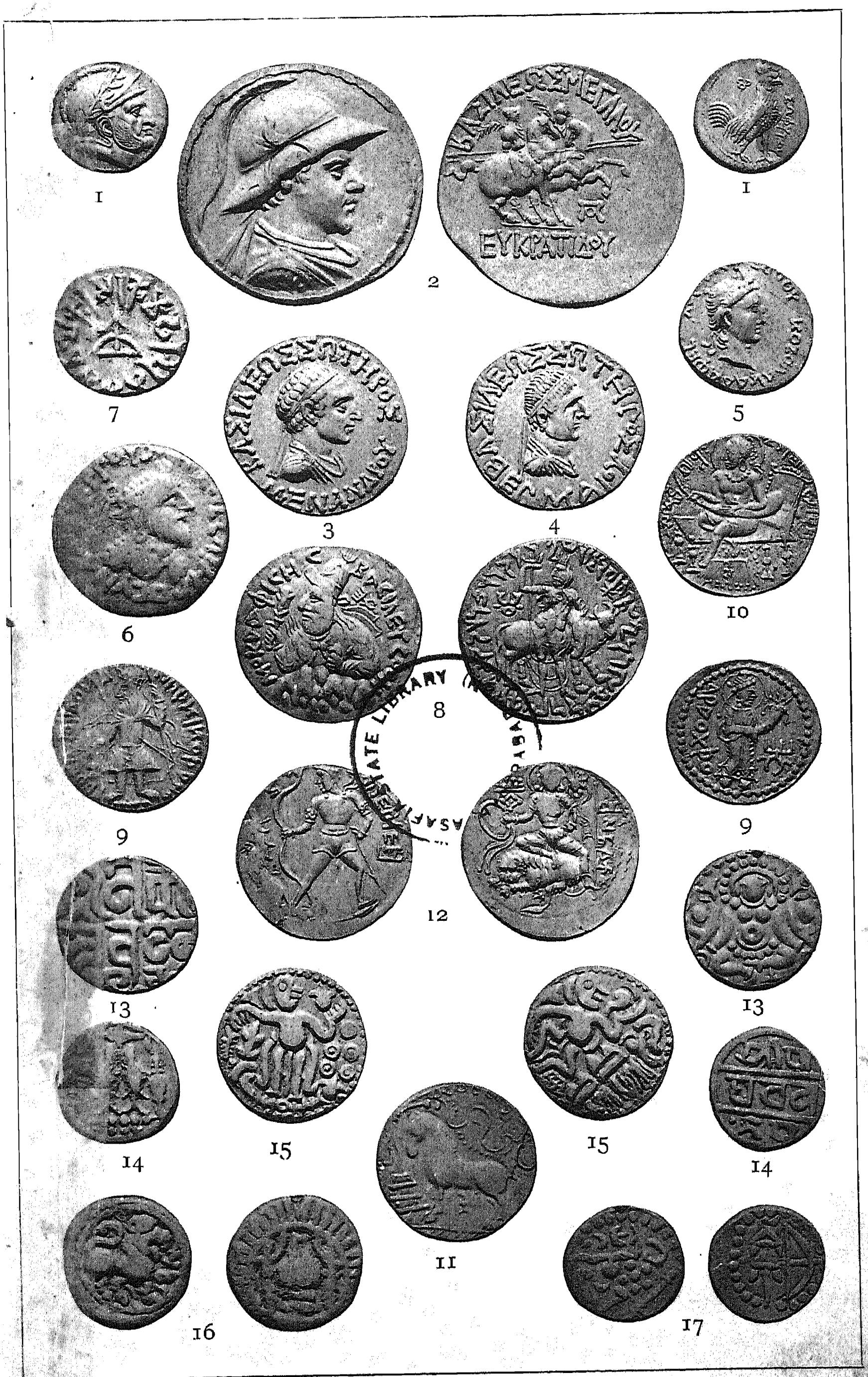
MAPS AND PLANS

ERRATUM

Page 71, heading, *for* Traveller's *read* Travellers'.

CONTENTS OF PLATE OF INDIAN CO[illegible] IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

No.	*King*	*Obverse*	*Reverse.*	*Refe*[illegible]
1	Sophytes	Head of the king r., in close-fitting helmet, bound with wreath, wing on cheek-piece	ΣΩΦΥΤΟΥ Cock r., above, caduceus	Gardner, [illegible] *eek and Scyt*[illegible] *of Bactria a*[illegible] Pl. I, 3.
2	Eukratides.	Bust of the king r., diademed, and wearing helmet (*kausia*), adorned with ear and horn of bull, and crest.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. The Dioskouroi charging r., holding long lances and palms.	ibid., I[illegible]
3	Menander.	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Bust of the king r., diademed	Not figured.	ibid.,[illegible]
4	Hermaios	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ. Bust of the king r., diademed.	Not figured.	ibid.[illegible] 4.
5	Kadphises I.	ΧΟΡΑΝCΥ ΖΑΟΟΥ ΚΟΖΟΛΑ ΚΑΔΑΦΕC. Head of the king r., diademed, and closely resembling that of Augustus	Not figured.	ibid[illegible] XV, 5.
6	Gondopharēs.	Greek legend imperfect, ΒΑCΙΛΕΟΝ . . . . ΥΝΔΟΦΕΡ . . . Bust of the king r., diademed	Not figured.	ib[illegible] XII, 11.
7	Sivalakura of Āndhra dynasty.	*Raño Mādharīputasa Sivalakurasa* Strung bow, with arrow fixed	Not figured.	C[illegible]n, *Coins of Ancien*[illegible] p. 109.
8	Kadphises II.	ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΟΟΗΜΟ ΚΑΔΦΙCΗC. Bust of king emerging from clouds; helmet and diadem, Greek chlamys; club? in r. hand.	Kharoshthī inscription, *maharajasa*, &c Śiva and Indian bull.	Ga[illegible] cit., Pl. XXV[illegible]
9	Kanishka.	Standing king in Turkī costume, with spear and sword Legend in modified Greek characters ΡΑΟΝΑΝΟΡΑΟ ΚΑΝΗΡΚΙ ΚΟΡΑΝΟ (Ρ to be read *sh*).	ΑΡΔΟΧΡΟ (Ρ = *sh*) Female deity with cornucopiae.	Gar[illegible] cit., Pl. XXVI,[illegible]
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11	Samudragupta	Horse, standing before altar and sacrificial post Legend imperfect; between horse's legs, *si*.	Not figured.	ibid , [illegible]
12	Chandra-gupta II, Vikramāditya	King shooting lion. Legend, *mahārājādhirāja śrī*.	Goddess seated on lion Legend, *Śrī Simha Vikramaḥ*.	ibid , [illegible] 6
13	Kīrttivarman Chandella.	Legend, *śrīmat Kīrttivarmma-deva*.	Four armed goddess, seated	Cunnin[illegible]m, *Coins of Mediaeva*[illegible] Pl. VIII, 12.
14	A Pāṇḍya king.	Two fishes under an umbrella, with other symbols.	Legend uncertain	Elliot, [illegible] *South-ern India*[illegible] 120.
15	Rājarāja Choḷa.	Standing king	Seated figure. Legend, *Rājarāja*.	ibid., P[illegible]
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INDIAN COINS

CHAPTER I

I. INTRODUCTION

Elphinstone and Cowell on the Hindu period.

THE illustrious Elphinstone, writing in 1839, observed that in Indian history 'no *date* of a public event can be fixed before the invasion of Alexander; and no *connected* relation of the national transactions can be attempted until after the Mahometan conquest'. Professor Cowell, when commenting upon this dictum, twenty-seven years later, begged his readers to bear it in mind during the whole of the Hindu period; assigning as his reason for this caution the fact that 'it is only at those points where other nations came into contact with the Hindus, that we are able to settle any details accurately.'[1]

Although the first clause of Elphinstone's proposition, if strictly interpreted, still remains true—no date in Indian history prior to Alexander's invasion being determinable with absolute precision—modern research has much weakened the force of the observation, and has enabled scholars to fix a considerable number of dates in the pre-Alexandrine history of India with approximate accuracy, sufficient for most purposes.

Results of modern research.

But when the statement that a connected narrative of events prior to the Muhammadan conquest cannot be prepared is examined in the light of present knowledge, the immense progress in the recovery of the lost history of India made during the last forty years becomes apparent. The researches of a multitude of scholars working in various fields have disclosed an unexpected wealth of materials for the reconstruction of ancient Indian history; and the necessary preliminary studies of a technical kind have been carried so far that the moment seems to have arrived for taking stock of the accumulated stores of knowledge. It now appears

[1] Elphinstone, *History of India*, ed. Cowell, 5th ed., p. 11.

to be practicable to exhibit the results of antiquarian studies in the shape of a 'connected relation'; not less intelligible to the ordinary educated reader than Elphinstone's narrative of the transactions of the Muhammadan period.

Political history.

The first attempt to present such a narrative of the leading events in Indian political history for eighteen centuries is made in this book, which is designedly confined almost exclusively to the relation of political vicissitudes. A sound framework of dynastic annals must be provided before the story of Indian religion, literature, and art can be told aright. Although religious, literary, and artistic problems are touched on very lightly in this volume, the references made will suffice, perhaps, to convince the reader that the key is often to be found in the accurate chronological presentation of dynastic facts.

East and West.

European students, whose attention has been directed almost exclusively to the Graeco-Roman foundation of modern civilization, may be disposed to agree with the German philosopher in the belief that 'Chinese, Indian, and Egyptian antiquities are never more than curiosities';[1] but, however well founded that opinion may have been in Goethe's day, it can no longer command assent. The researches of orientalists during the last hundred years have established many points of contact between the ancient East and the modern West; and no Hellenist can now afford to profess complete ignorance of the Babylonian and Egyptian culture which forms the bed-rock of European institutions. Even China has been brought into touch with Europe; while the languages, literature, art, and philosophy of the West have been proved to be connected by innumerable bonds with those of India. Although the names of even the greatest monarchs of ancient India are at present unfamiliar to the general reader, and awaken few echoes in the minds of any save specialists, it is not unreasonable to hope that an orderly presentation of the ascertained facts of ancient Indian history may be of interest to a larger circle than that

[1] *The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*, No. 325, in Bailey Saunders's translation.

of professed orientalists, and that, as the subject becomes more familiar to the reading public, it will be found no less worthy of attention than better known departments of historical study. A recent Indian author justly observes that 'India suffers to-day in the estimation of the world more through that world's ignorance of the achievements of the heroes of Indian history than through the absence or insignificance of such achievements'.[1] The following pages may serve to prove that the men of old time in India did deeds worthy of remembrance, and deserving of rescue from the oblivion in which they have been buried for so many centuries.

Alexander the Great.

The section of this work which deals with the invasion of Alexander the Great may claim to make a special appeal to the interest of readers trained in the ordinary course of classical studies; and the subject has been treated accordingly with much fullness of detail. The existing English accounts of Alexander's marvellous campaign, among which that of Thirlwall may claim, perhaps, the highest place, treat the story rather as an appendix to the history of Greece than as part of that of India, and fail to make full use of the results of the labours of modern geographers and archaeologists. In this volume the campaign is discussed as a memorable episode in the history of India, and an endeavour has been made to collect all the rays of light from recent investigation and to focus them upon the narratives of ancient authors.

The author's aim.

The author's aim is to present the story of ancient India, so far as practicable, in the form of a connected narrative, based upon the most authentic evidence available; to relate facts, however established, with impartiality: and to discuss the problems of history in a judicial spirit. He has striven to realize, however imperfectly, the ideal expressed in the words of Goethe:—

'The historian's duty is to separate the true from the false, the certain from the uncertain, and the doubtful from

[1] C. N. K. Aiyar, *Sri Sankaracharya, his Life and Times*, p. iv.

that which cannot be accepted. . . . Every investigator must before all things look upon himself as one who is summoned to serve on a jury. He has only to consider how far the statement of the case is complete and clearly set forth by the evidence. Then he draws his conclusion and gives his vote, whether it be that his opinion coincides with that of the foreman or not.'[1]

The application of these principles necessarily involves the wholesale rejection of mere legend as distinguished from tradition, and the omission of many picturesque anecdotes, mostly folk-lore, which have clustered round the names of the mighty men of old in India.

Value of tradition.

The historian of the remote past of any nation must be content to rely much upon tradition as embodied in literature, and to acknowledge that the results of his researches, when based upon traditionary materials, are inferior in certainty to those obtainable for periods of which the facts are attested by contemporary evidence. In India, with very few exceptions, contemporary evidence of any kind is not available before the time of Alexander; but critical examination of records dated much later than the events referred to can extract from them testimony which may be regarded with a high degree of probability as traditionally transmitted from the sixth or, perhaps, the seventh century B.C.

Necessity for criticism.

Even contemporary evidence, when it is available for later periods, cannot be accepted without criticism. The flattery of courtiers, the vanity of kings, and many other clouds which obscure the absolute truth, must be recognized and allowed for. Nor is it possible for the writer of a history, however great may be his respect for the objective fact, to eliminate altogether his own personality. Every kind of evidence, even the most direct, must reach the reader, when in narrative form, as a reflection from the mirror of the writer's mind, with the liability to unconscious distortion. In the following pages the author has endeavoured to exclude the subjective element so far as possible, to make no state-

[1] *The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*, Nos. 453, 543.

ment of fact without authority, and to give the authority, that is to say, the evidence, for every fact alleged.

But no obligation to follow authority in the other sense of the word has been recognized, and the narrative often assumes a form which appears to be justified by the evidence, although opposed to the views stated in well-known books by authors of repute. Indian history has been too much the sport of credulity and hypothesis, inadequately checked by critical judgement of evidence or verification of fact; and 'the opinion of the foreman', to use Goethe's phrase, cannot be implicitly followed.

Unity of India.

Although this work purports to relate the Early History of India, the title must be understood with certain limitations. India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and, as such, is rightly designated by one name. Her type of civilization, too, has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world, while they are common to the whole country, or rather continent, in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human, social, and intellectual development.

But the complete political unity of India under the control of a paramount power, wielding unquestioned authority, is a thing of yesterday, barely a century old. The most notable of her rulers in the olden time cherished the ambition of universal Indian dominion, and severally attained it in a greater or less degree. But not one of them attained it completely, and this failure implies a lack of unity in political history which renders the task of the historian difficult.

The same difficulty besets the historian of Greece still more pressingly; but, in that case, with the attainment of unity, the interest of the history vanishes. In the case of India the converse proposition holds good, and the reader's interest varies directly with the degree of unity attained; the details of Indian annals being insufferably wearisome except when generalized by the application of a bond of political union.

Predominant dynasties.

A history of India, if it is to be read, must necessarily be the story of the predominant dynastics, and either ignore, or relegate to a very subordinate position, the annals of the minor states. Elphinstone acted upon this principle in his classic work, and practically confined his narrative to the transactions of the Sultans of Delhi and their Moghal successors. The same principle has been applied in this book, and attention has been concentrated upon the dominant dynasties which, from time to time, have attained or aspired to paramount power.

Twice, in the long series of centuries dealt with in this history, the political unity of all India was nearly attained; first, in the third century B.C., when Asoka's empire extended almost to the latitude of Madras; and again, in the fourth century A.D., when Samudragupta carried his victorious arms from the Ganges to the borders of the Tamil country. Other princes, although their conquests were less extensive, yet succeeded in establishing, and for a time maintaining, empires which might fairly claim to rank as paramount powers. With the history of such princes the following narrative is chiefly concerned, and the affairs of the minor states are either slightly noticed, or altogether ignored.

Supremacy of the north.

The paramount power in early times, when it existed, invariably had its seat in Northern India—the region of the Gangetic plain lying to the north of the great barrier of jungle-clad hills which shut off the Deccan from Hindustan. That barrier may be defined conveniently as consisting of the Vindhyan ranges; or may be identified, still more compendiously, with the river Narmadā, or Nerbudda, which falls into the Gulf of Cambay.

Isolation of the south.

The ancient kingdoms of the south, although rich and populous, inhabited by Dravidian nations not inferior in culture to their Aryan rivals in the north, were ordinarily so secluded from the rest of the civilized world, including Northern India, that their affairs remained hidden from the eyes of other nations; and, native annalists being lacking, their history, previous to the year 1000 of the Christian era, has almost wholly perished. Except on the rare occasions

when an unusually enterprising sovereign of the north either penetrated or turned the forest barrier, and for a moment lifted the veil of secrecy in which the southern potentates lived enwrapped, very little is known concerning political events in the south during the long period extending from 600 B.C. to 1000 A.D. To use the words of Elphinstone, no 'connected relation of the national transactions' of Southern India in remote times can be written; and an early history of India must, perforce, be concerned mainly with the north.

Scope of this work.

An attempt to present in narrative form the history of the ancient dominant dynasties of Northern India is, therefore, the primary purpose of this work. The story of the great southern kingdoms, being known too imperfectly to permit of treatment on the same scale, necessarily occupies less space; while the annals of the innumerable minor states in every part of the country seldom offer matter of sufficient general interest to warrant narration in detail. In the fourteenth chapter, the reader will find a condensed account of the more salient events in the story of the principal mediaeval kingdoms of the north; and the two succeeding chapters are devoted to an outline of the fortunes of the kingdoms of the Deccan tableland and the Peninsula, so far as they are known, from the earliest times to the Muhammadan invasion at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The time dealt with is that extending from the commencement of the historical period in 650 or 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan conquest, which may be dated in round numbers as having occurred in 1200 A.D. in the north, and a century later in the south. The earliest political event in India to which an approximately correct date can be assigned is the establishment of the Saisunāga dynasty of Magadha about 600 B.C., the beginning of 'the sixth century—that wonderful century—a cardinal epoch in human history, if ever there was one'.

II. SOURCES OF INDIAN HISTORY

Four sources.

The sources of, or original authorities for, the early history of India may be arranged in four classes. The first of these is tradition, chiefly as recorded in native literature; the second consists of those writings of foreign travellers and historians which contain observations on Indian subjects; the third is the evidence of archaeology, which may be subdivided into the monumental, the epigraphic, and the numismatic; and the fourth comprises the few works of native contemporary, or nearly contemporary, literature which deal expressly with historical subjects.

Tradition only in earliest period.

For the period anterior to Alexander the Great, extending from 600 B.C. to 326 B.C., dependence must be placed almost wholly upon literary tradition, communicated through works composed in many different ages, and frequently recorded in scattered, incidental notices. The purely Indian traditions are supplemented by the notes of the Greek authors, Ktēsias, Herodotus, the historians of Alexander, Megasthenes and others.

The Kashmīr chronicle.

The Kashmīr chronicle, composed in the twelfth century, which is in form the nearest approach to a work of regular history in extant Sanskrit literature, contains a large body of confused ancient traditions, which can be used only with much caution. It is also of high value as a trustworthy record of local events for the period contemporary with, or slightly preceding, the author's lifetime.[1]

The Sanskrit epics.

The great Sanskrit epics, the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana, while of value as traditional pictures of social life in the heroic age, do not seem to contain matter illustrating the political relations of states during the historical period.

Incidental notices.

Linguistic specialists have extracted from the works of grammarians and other authors many incidental references

[1] *Kalhana's Rājataraṅginī, a Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, translated with an Introduction, Commentary, and Appendices, by M. A. Stein (2 vols., Constable, 1900). This monumental work is as creditable to the enterprise of the publishers as it is to the industry and learning of the translator, who has also produced a critical edition of the text.

to ancient tradition, which collectively amount to a considerable addition to historical knowledge. These passages from Sanskrit and Prākrit literature, so far as they have come to my notice, have been utilized in this work; but some may have escaped attention.

Jain books.

The sacred books of the Jain sect, which are still very imperfectly known, also contain numerous historical statements and allusions of considerable value.[1]

Jātaka stories.

The Jātaka, or Birth, stories and other books of the Buddhist canon, include many incidental references to the political condition of India in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., which although not exactly contemporary with the events alluded to, certainly transmit genuine historical tradition.[2]

Pāli chronicles of Ceylon.

The chronicles of Ceylon in the Pāli language, of which the *Dīpavamsa*, dating probably from the fourth century A. D., and the *Mahāvamsa*, about a century later in date, are the best known, offer several discrepant versions of early Indian traditions, chiefly concerning the Maurya dynasty. These Sinhalese stories, the value of which has been sometimes overestimated, demand cautious criticism at least as much as do other records of popular and ecclesiastical tradition.[3]

The Purāṇas.

The most systematic record of Indian historical tradition is that preserved in the dynastic lists of the Purānas. Five

[1] Some of the leading Jain texts have been translated by Prof. Hermann Jacobi (*S. B. E.*, vols. xxii, xlv). For full information on all publications relating to Jainism see Dr. A. Guérinot's fine work, *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina, répertoire analytique et méthodique des travaux relatifs au Jainisme* (Paris, Leroux, 1906; pp. 568).

[2] A complete translation of the Jātakas, initiated by the late Prof. Cowell, and executed by Mr. W. H. D Rouse and other scholars, is in course of publication. Five out of six volumes have appeared (Cambridge University Press). For a theory as to the date of the collection see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 189-208.

[3] For a favourable view of the Ceylon chronicles see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*; and, on the other side, Foulkes, 'The Vicissitudes of the Buddhist Literature of Ceylon' (*Ind. Ant.* xvii, 100); 'Buddhaghosa' (ibid. xix, 105); Taw Sein Ko, 'Kalyāni Inscriptions' (ibid. xxii, 14); V. A. Smith, *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*. The *Mahāvaṁśa* exists in more recensions than one; but that ordinarily quoted is the one translated by Turnour, whose version has been revised by Wijesimha. The *Dīpavaṁśa* has been translated by Prof. Oldenberg. See Geiger, *Dīpavaṁśa und Mahāvaṁśa* (Leipzig, Bohme: 1905; Engl. transl. in *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, p. 153).

out of the eighteen works of this class, namely, the Vāyu, Matsya, Vishnu, Brahmānda, and Bhāgavata contain such lists. The Brahmānda and Bhāgavata Purānas being comparatively late works, the lists in them are corrupt, imperfect, and of slight value. But those in the oldest documents, the Vāyu, Matsya, and Vishnu, are full, and evidently based upon good authorities. The latest of these three works, the Vishnu, is the best known, having been completely translated into English;[1] but in some cases its evidence is not so good as that of the Vāyu and Matsya. It was composed, probably, in the fifth or sixth century A.D., and corresponds most closely with the theoretical definition that a Purāna should deal with 'the five topics of primary creation, secondary creation, genealogies of gods and patriarchs, reigns of various Manus, and the histories of the old dynasties of kings'.[2] The Vāyu seems to go back to the middle of the fourth century A.D., and the Matsya is probably intermediate in date between it and the Vishnu.[3]

Modern European writers have been inclined to disparage unduly the authority of the Purānic lists, but closer study finds in them much genuine and valuable historical tradition. For instance, the Vishnu Purāna gives the outline of the history of the Maurya dynasty with a near approach to accuracy, and the Radcliffe manuscript of the Matsya is equally trustworthy for Āndhra history. Proof of the surprising extent to which coins and inscriptions confirm the Matsya list of the Āndhra kings has recently been published.[4]

Darius, Ktēsias, Herodotus.

The earliest foreign notice of India is that in the inscriptions of the Persian king, Darius, son of Hystaspes, at Persepolis, and Naksh-i-Rustam, the latter of which may be referred to the year 486 B.C.[5] Herodotus, who wrote late

[1] By H. H. Wilson, subsequently edited and improved by F. Hall. The lists will be found in Duff, *Chronology of India* (Constable, 1899).

[2] Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 301.

[3] The relative dates of the Purānas are stated by Bhandarkar in *Early History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., p. 162 (*Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, part 2). For approximate actual dates see Appendix A at the end of this chapter.

[4] V. A. Smith, 'Andhra History and Coinage' (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1902, 1903).

[5] Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. ii, p. 403; iv, 207.

in the fifth century, contributes valuable information concerning the relation between India and the Persian empire, which supplements the less detailed statements of the inscriptions. The fragments of the works of Ktēsias of Knidos, who was physician to Artaxerxes Memnon in 401 B.C., and amused himself by collecting travellers' tales about the wonders of the East, are of very slight value.[1]

Officers of Alexander, and envoys.

Europe was practically ignorant of India until the veil was lifted by Alexander's operations and the reports of his officers. Some twenty years after his death the Greek ambassadors sent by the kings of Syria and Egypt to the court of the Maurya emperors recorded careful observations on the country to which they were accredited, which have been partially preserved in the works of many Greek and Roman authors. The fragments of Megasthenes are especially valuable.[2]

Arrian, and others.

Arrian, a Graeco-Roman official of the second century A.D., wrote a capital description of India, as well as an admirable critical history of Alexander's invasion. Both these works being based upon the reports of Ptolemy son of Lagos, and other officers of Alexander, and the writings of the Greek ambassadors, are entitled to a large extent to the credit of contemporary documents, so far as the Indian history of the fourth century B.C. is concerned. The works of Quintus Curtius and other authors, who essayed to tell the story of Alexander's Indian campaign, are far inferior in value; but each has merits of its own.[3]

Chinese historians.

The Chinese 'Father of history', Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien, who completed his work about 100 B.C., is the first of a long series of Chinese historians, whose writings throw much light upon the early annals of India. The accurate

[1] Translated by McCrindle in *Ind. Ant.* x, 296; the translation was also published separately at Calcutta in 1882.

[2] Edited by Schwanbeck, Bonn, 1846; translated by McCrindle.

[3] The Greek and Roman notices of India have been collected, translated, and discussed by Mr. McCrindle in six useful books, published between 1882 and 1901, and dealing with (1) Ktēsias, (2) *Indika* of Megasthenes and Arrian, (3) Periplus of the Erythraean Sea, (4) Ptolemy's Geography, (5) Alexander's Invasion, and (6) Ancient India, as described by other classical writers.

chronology of the Chinese authors gives their statements peculiar value.[1]

Fa-hien, Chinese pilgrim.

The long series of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who continued for several centuries to visit India, which they regarded as their Holy Land, begins with Fa-hien (Fa-hsien); who started on his travels in 399 A.D., and returned to China fifteen years later. The book in which he recorded his journeys has been preserved complete, and translated once into French, and four times into English. It includes a very interesting and valuable description of the government and social condition of the Gangetic provinces during the reign of Chandra-gupta II, Vikramāditya.[2] Several other pilgrims left behind them works which contribute something to the elucidation of Indian history, and their testimony will be cited in due course.

Hiuen Tsang.

But the prince of pilgrims, the illustrious Hiuen Tsang, whose fame as Master of the Law still resounds through all Buddhist lands, deserves more particular notice. His travels, described in a work entitled *Records of the Western World*, which has been translated into French, English, and German, extended from 629 A.D. to 645, and covered an enormous area, including almost every part of India, except the extreme south. His book is a treasure-house of accurate information, indispensable to every student of Indian antiquity, and has done more than any archaeological discovery to render possible the remarkable resuscitation of lost Indian history which has recently been effected. Although the chief historical value of Hiuen Tsang's work consists in its contemporary description of political, religious and social institutions, the pilgrim has increased the debt of gratitude due to his memory by recording a considerable mass of ancient tradition, which would have been lost but for his care to preserve it. The *Life of*

[1] M. Chavannes has published five volumes, out of nine, of a translation of Ssŭ-ma-ch'ien. The French sinologists have been specially active in exploring the Chinese sources of Indian history, and several of their publications will be cited in later chapters. For the chronology the work entitled *Synchronismes Chinois*, by Le P. Mathias Tchang, S.J. (Chang-Hai, 1905), is very useful.

[2] In order to prevent confusion, the name of Chandragupta Maurya is printed without the hyphen, and that of Chandra-gupta I and II of the Gupta dynasty with it.

Hiuen Tsang, composed by his friend Hwui-li, contributes many details supplemental to the narrative in the *Records*.[1]

Alberūnī.

The learned mathematician and astronomer, Alberūnī, almost the only Muhammadan scholar who has ever taken the trouble to learn Sanskrit, essentially a language of idolatrous unbelievers, when regarded from a Muslim point of view, entered India in the train of Mahmūd of Ghaznī. His work, descriptive of the country, and entitled 'An Enquiry into India' (*Taḥḳīḳ-i-Hind*), which was finished in 1030 A.D., is of high value as an account of Hindu manners, science, and literature; but contributes comparatively little information which can be utilized for the purposes of political history.[2]

Marco Polo.

The visit of the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, to Southern India in 1294–5 A.D. just comes within the limits of this volume.[3]

Muhammadan historians.

The Muhammadan historians of India are valuable authorities for the history of the conquest by the armies of Islam; and the early Muslim travellers throw much light upon the condition of the mediaeval Hindu kingdoms.[4]

Monumental evidence.

The monumental class of archaeological evidence, considered by itself and apart from the inscriptions on the walls of buildings, offers little direct contribution to the materials for political history, but is of high illustrative value, and greatly helps the student in realizing the power and magnificence of some of the ancient dynasties.

Inscriptions.

Unquestionably the most copious and important source of early Indian history is the epigraphic; and the accurate knowledge of many periods of the long-forgotten past which has now been attained is derived mainly from the patient study of inscriptions during the last seventy years. Inscrip-

[1] See Appendix B, *The Chinese Pilgrims*, at the end of this chapter.

[2] Edited and translated by Sachau. Major Raverty points out that the title of Alberūnī's work is *Taḥḳīḳ-*, not *Tārīkh-i-Hind* (*J. A. S. B.*, 1872, part I, p. 186 note). The author's full designation was Abū-Riḥān, Muhammad, son of Aḥmad; but he became familiarly known as the *Ustād*, or Master, Bū-Riḥān, surnamed Al-Bērūnī (ibid.).

[3] M. Cordier has recently brought out a new edition of Yule's version.

[4] They are most conveniently consulted in Elliot's *History of India as told by its own Historians*; a valuable work, although not free from errors, many of which have been corrected by the late Major Raverty in various publications.

tions are of many kinds. Asoka's edicts, or sermons on stone, form a class by themselves; no other sovereign having imitated his practice of engraving ethical exhortations on the rocks. Equally peculiar is the record on tables of stone of two Sanskrit plays at Ajmēr, and of a third at Dhār. A fragmentary inscription at Chitor, on the great tower, is part of a treatise on architecture.[1] But the great majority of inscriptions are commemorative, dedicatory, or donative. The former two classes comprise a vast variety of records, extending from the mere signature of a pilgrim's name to an elaborate panegyrical poem in the most artificial style of Sanskrit verse; and for the most part are incised on stone. The donative inscriptions—or grants—on the other hand, are mostly engraved on plates of copper, the favourite material used for permanent record of conveyances.

Southern inscriptions.

The south of India is peculiarly rich in inscriptions of almost all kinds, both on stone and copper, some of which attain extraordinary length. The known southern inscriptions number several thousands, and many must remain for future discovery. But these records, notwithstanding their abundance, are inferior in interest to the rarer northern documents, by reason of their comparatively recent date. No southern inscription earlier than the Christian era is known, except the Mysore edition of Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts and the brief dedications of the Bhattiprolu caskets.[2] The records prior to the seventh century A.D. are very few.

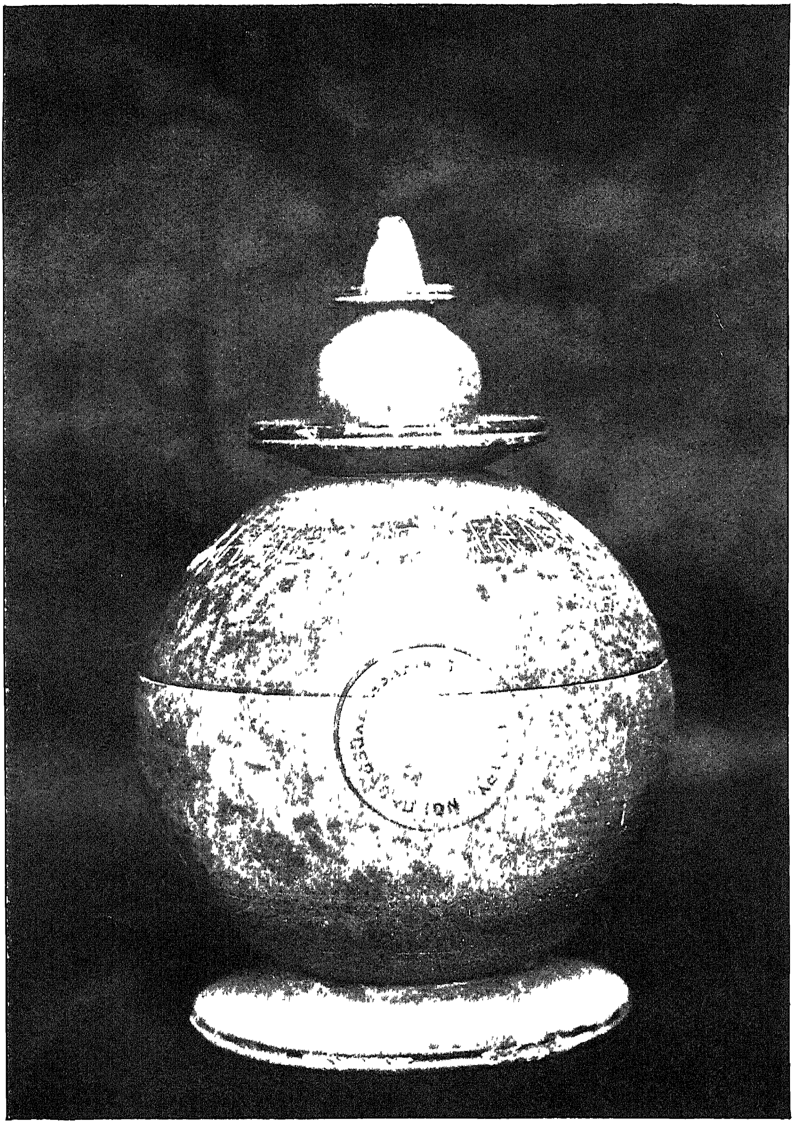
Oldest inscriptions.

The oldest northern document was supposed at one time to be the dedication of the relics of Buddha at Piprāwā, which was believed to date from about 450 B.C., but more recent criticism has discredited this theory.[3] In fact, no extant inscription, either in the north or south, can be referred with confidence to a date earlier than that of Asoka, the middle of the third century B.C. The number of documents prior to the Christian era is much more considerable in the north

[1] Kielhorn, *Bruchstucke indischer Schauspiele in Inschriften zu Ajmere* (Berlin, 1901): Hultzsch, *Archaeol. S. of India, Annual Report*, 1903–4, p. 240: *Progr. Rep. Archaeol. S. W.I.*, 1903–4, pp. 40, 58.

[2] *Ep. Ind.* ii, 323.

[3] Barth., *J. des Savants*, Oct., 1906; *Ind. Ant.*, 1907, pp. 117–24.



PIPRĀWĀ INSCRIBED VASE CONTAINING RELICS OF BUDDHA

(. . . *salilanidhane budhasa bhagavate* . . .)

than in the south. Very few records of the third century A. D. have survived, but, if my scheme of the Kushān chronology is correct, those of the second century A. D. may be described as numerous.

Although much excellent work has been done, infinitely more remains to be done before the study of Indian inscriptions is exhausted; and the small body of unselfish workers at the subject is in urgent need of recruits, content to find their reward in the interest of the work itself, the pleasure of discovery, and the satisfaction of adding to the world's knowledge.[1] Work remaining.

The numismatic evidence is more accessible as a whole than the epigraphic. Many classes of Indian coins have been discussed in special treatises, and compelled to yield their contributions to history; while a general survey completed by Prof. Rapson enables the student to judge how far the muse of history has been helped by her numismatic handmaid. Numismatics.

From the time of Alexander's invasion coins afford invaluable aid to the researches of the historian in every period; and for the Bactrian, Indo-Greek, and Indo-Parthian dynasties they constitute almost the sole evidence.[2]

The fourth class of materials for, or sources of, early Indian history, namely, contemporary, or nearly contemporary, native literature of an historical kind, is of limited extent, Contemporary literature.

[1] See Dr. Fleet's article in *Ind. Ant.*, 1901, p. 1. It is impossible to give a complete list of the publications in which Indian inscriptions appear. The properly edited records will be found mostly in the *Indian Antiquary*, *Epigraphia Indica*, *South Indian Inscriptions*, and Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*; but documents, more or less satisfactorily edited, will be met with in almost all the voluminous publications on Indian archaeology. Mr. Lewis Rice has published notices of thousands of southern documents in *Epigraphia Carnatica* and other works. Prof. Kielhorn's *Lists*, with *Supplements* in *Ep. Ind.*, v, vii, and viii, are invaluable.

[2] Some of the principal modern works on ancient Indian numismatics are:—Rapson, *Indian Coins* (Strassburg, 1898); Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* (1891); *Coins of Mediaeval India* (1894); Von Sallet, *Die Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen in Baktrien und Indien* (Berlin, 1879); P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (1886); V. A. Smith, three treatises on 'The Gupta Coinage' (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. liii, part 1, 1884; ibid., vol. lxiii, part 1, 1894; *J. R. A. S.*, Jan., 1899); 'Andhra History and Coinage' (*Z.D.M.G.*, 1902, 1903); *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. i (1906); Elliot, *Coins of Southern India* (1885). Minor publications are too numerous to specify. The early essays by James Prinsep and other eminent scholars are now mostly obsolete.

comprising, in addition to the Kashmīr chronicle (*ante*, p. 8), and local annals of Nepāl and Assam, a few works in Sanskrit and Prākrit, and certain poems in Tamil. None of these works is pure history; they are all of a romantic character, and present the facts with much embellishment.

The best known composition of this class is that entitled 'The Deeds of Harsha' (*Harsha-Charita*), written by Bāna, about 620 A.D., in praise of his master and patron, King Harsha of Thānēsar and Kanauj, which is of high value, both as a depository of ancient tradition, and a record of contemporary history, in spite of obvious faults.[1] A similar work called 'The Deeds of Vikramānka', by Bilhana, a poet of the twelfth century, is devoted to the eulogy of a powerful king who ruled a large territory in the south and west between 1076 and 1126 A.D.[2] A poem entitled *Rāmacharitam*, dealing with the Pāla kings of Bengal, has been discovered recently; and several compositions, mostly by Jain authors, besides that of Bilhaṇa, treat of the history of the Chalukya dynasties of the west.[3] The earliest of the Tamil poems alluded to is believed to date from the first or second century A.D. These compositions, which include epics and panegyrics on famous kings of the south, appear to contain a good deal of historical matter.[4]

Chronological difficulties.

The obstacles which have hitherto prevented the construction of a continuous narrative of Early Indian History are due, not so much to the deficiency of material, as to the lack of definite chronology referred to by Elphinstone and Cowell. The rough material is not so scanty as has been supposed. The data for the reconstruction of the early history of all nations are very meagre, largely consisting of bare lists of names supplemented by vague and often contradictory traditions which pass insensibly into popular mythology. The

[1] Translated by Cowell and Thomas (*Or. Transl. Fund, N.S.*, published by R. As. Society, 1897).

[2] Fully analysed by Buhler (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. v (1876), pp. 317, 324; and criticized by Fleet (ibid., vol. xxx (1901), p. 12).

[3] *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1901, p. 26: G. H. Ojha, *Early History of the Solankīs*, part I, p. 2; Ajmēr, 1907; in Hindī.

[4] Analysed by Mr. V. Kanakasabhai Pillai (*Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 259; xix, 329; xxii, 141). See *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* by same author; Madras, 1904.

historian of ancient India is fairly well provided with a supply of such lists, traditions, and mythology; which, of course, require to be treated on the strict critical principles applied by modern students to the early histories of both western and eastern nations. The application of those principles is not more difficult in the case of India than it is in Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, or Rome. The real difficulty is the determination of fixed chronological points. A body of history must be supported upon a skeleton of chronology, and without chronology history is impossible.

Numerous eras.

The Indian nations, in so far as they maintained a record of political events, kept it by methods of their own, which are difficult to understand, and until recently were not at all understood. The eras used to date events not only differ from those used by other nations, but are very numerous and obscure in their origin and application. Cunningham's *Book of Indian Eras* enumerates more than a score of systems which have been employed at different times and places in India for the computation of dates; and his list might be considerably extended. The successful efforts of several generations of scholars to recover the forgotten history of ancient India have been largely devoted to a study of the local modes of chronological computation, and have resulted in the attainment of accurate knowledge concerning most of the eras used in inscriptions and other documents. Armed with these results, it is now possible for a writer on Indian history to compile a narrative arranged in orderly chronological sequence, which could not have been thought of forty years ago.

Greek synchronisms.

At that time the only approximately certain date in the early history of India was that of the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, as determined by his identification with Sandrakottos, the contemporary of Seleukos Nikator, according to Greek authors. The synchronism of Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka, with Antiochos Theos, grandson of Seleukos, and four other Hellenistic princes, having been established subsequently; the chronology of the Maurya dynasty was placed upon a firm basis, and is no longer open to doubt in its main outlines.

With the exception of these two synchronisms, and certain dates in the seventh century A.D., determined by the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, the whole scheme of Indian chronology remained indeterminate and exposed to the caprice of every rash guesser.

Gupta era.

A great step in advance was gained by Dr. Fleet's determination of the Gupta era, which had been the subject of much wild conjecture. His demonstration that the year 1 of that era is 319–20 A.D. fixed the chronological position of a most important dynasty, and reduced chaos to order. Fa-hien's account of the civil administration of the Gangetic provinces at the beginning of the fourth century thus became an important historical document illustrating the reign of Chandra-gupta II, Vikramâditya, one of the greatest of Indian kings. Most of the difficulties which continued to embarrass the chronology of the Gupta period, even after the announcement of Dr. Fleet's discovery in 1887, have been removed by M. Sylvain Lévi's publication of the synchronism of Samudragupta with King Meghavarna of Ceylon (304 to 332 A.D.).

Andhra synchronism.

A connected history of the Āndhra dynasty has been rendered possible by the establishment of synchronisms between the Āndhra kings and the Western satraps.

Northern chronology settled; except Kushān.

In short, the labours of many scholars have succeeded in tracing in firm lines the outline of the history of Northern India from the beginning of the historical period to the Muhammadan conquest, with one important exception, that of the Kushān or Indo-Scythian period, the date of which is still open to discussion. The system of Kushān chronology adopted in this volume has much to recommend it, and is sufficiently supported to serve as a good working hypothesis. If it should ultimately commend itself to general acceptance, the whole scheme of North Indian chronology may be considered as settled, although many details will remain to be filled in.

Southern chronology.

Much progress has been made in the determination of the chronology of the Southern dynasties, and the dates of the Pallavas, a dynasty, the very existence of which was

unknown to European students until 1840, have been worked out with special success.

The foregoing review will, I trust, satisfy my readers that the attempt to write 'a connected relation of the national transactions' of India prior to the Muhammadan conquest is now justified by an adequate supply of material facts and sufficient determination of essential chronological data. Feasibility of 'connected relation'.

APPENDIX A

The Age of the Purāṇas

H. H. Wilson, misunderstanding certain passages in the Purāṇas as referring to the Muhammadans, enunciated the opinion that the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* was composed in or about 1045 A.D. This error was excusable in Wilson's time; but unfortunately it continues to be repeated frequently, although refuted by patent facts many years ago. For instance, it has gained fresh currency by its reappearance in the late Sir William Hunter's popular book, *A Brief History of the Indian People* (22nd edition, 1897, p. 103), which requires revision in the pages dealing with ancient history. The persistent repetition of Wilson's mistake renders it desirable to bring together a few easily intelligible and decisive proofs that the Purāṇas are very much older than he supposed. Wilson's erroneous date.

Alberūnī, who wrote his scientific account of India in 1030 A.D., gives a list of the eighteen Purāṇas 'composed by the so-called Ṛishis', and had actually seen three of them. He also gives a variant list of the eighteen works, as named in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*[1]. It is, therefore, certain that in 1030 A.D. the Purāṇas were, as now, eighteen in number, and were regarded as coming down from immemorial antiquity, when the mythical Ṛishis lived. Evidence of Alberūnī.

Bāṇa, the author of the *Harsha-Charita*, or panegyric on King Harsha, who wrote about 620 A.D., carries the proof of the antiquity of the Purāṇas four centuries further back. When he went home to his village on the Sōn river, in the country now known as the Shāhābād District, he listened to Sudṛishti, who read 'with a chant' the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (*pavanaprokta*).[2] Dr. Führer believed that he could prove the use by Bāna of the *Agni*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Mārkāṇḍeya Purāṇas*, as well as the *Vāyu*[3]. Bāṇa.

[1] Sachau's translation, pp. 130, 131, 264.

[2] Cowell and Thomas, trans., p. 72.

[3] *Trans. VIth Or. Congress*, vol. iii, p. 205.

Ancient Bengal MS.

Independent proof of the existence of the Skanda Purana at the same period is afforded by a Bengal manuscript of that work, 'written in Gupta hand, to which as early a date as the middle of the seventh century can be assigned on palaeographical grounds.'[1]

'Questions of Milinda.'

The Purāṇas in some form were well known to the author of the 'Questions of Milinda' (*Milindapanha*) as ancient sacred writings grouped with the Vēdas and epic poems. Book I of that work, in which the first reference occurs, is undoubtedly part of the original composition, and was almost certainly composed earlier than 300 A.D.[2]

Gupta dynasty.

Many other early quotations from, or references to, the Purānas have been collected by Buhler, who points out that 'the account of the future kings in the *Vāyupurāṇa, Vishṇupurāṇa, Matsyapurāṇa,* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* seems to stop with the imperial Guptas and their contemporaries'.

This last observation indicates that the date of the redaction of the four works named cannot be very far removed from 500 A.D., the imperial Gupta dynasty having ended about 480 A.D. Buhler speaks of 'future kings', because all the historical statements of the Purāṇas are given in the form of prophecy, in order to maintain the appearance of great antiquity in the books, which in their oldest forms were undoubtedly very ancient.

Vāyu Purāṇa.

The *Vāyu Purāṇa* in its present shape seems to be referred to the fourth century A.D. by the well-known passage describing the extent of the Gupta dominions, which is applicable only to the reign of Chandra-gupta I in 320–6 A.D.[4]

Brahmanical revival.

The principal Purāṇas seem to have been edited in their present form during the Gupta period, when a great extension and revival of Sanskrit Brahmanical literature took place.[5] This phenomenon will be discussed in Chapter XII *post*.

APPENDIX B

The Chinese Pilgrims

Chinese names; Fa-hien.

The transliteration of Chinese names presents such difficulties, owing to many reasons, that much variation exists in practice. The name of the first pilgrim is variously spelled as Fâ-Hien (Legge); Fa-hian (Laidlay, Beal); and Fa-Hsien (Giles). In

[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 193.
[2] *S.B.E.*, vol. xxxv, pp. 6, 247.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxv (1896), p. 323.
[4] *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, ed. Wilson and Hall, vol. iv, p. 218; *Z.D.M.G.*, 1902, p. 654, note.
[5] Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan.*

this volume Legge's spelling has been adopted, omitting the long vowel mark, which is not used by the other scholars named.

Fa-hien's work, entitled *Fo-kuo-ki* (or 'Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms'), covers the period from 399 to 414 A.D.[1]

The early French version by Messrs. Rémusat, Klaproth, and Landresse (1836) was translated into English by J. W. Laidlay, and published anonymously at Calcutta in 1848, with additional notes and illustrations, which still deserve to be consulted. French version.

Mr. Beal issued an independent version in a small volume, entitled *Buddhist Pilgrims*, published in 1869, which was disfigured by many errors. His amended and much improved rendering appeared in the first volume of *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Trubner's Oriental Series, Boston, 1885); but the notes to the earlier version were not reprinted in full. Beal's versions.

The translation by Mr. Giles, which appeared at London and Shanghai in 1877, is intermediate in date between Mr. Beal's two versions; and the notes, which are largely devoted to incisive criticisms on the early work of Mr. Beal, contain little to help the reader who desires to study the pilgrim's observations from an Indian point of view. But Mr. Giles's little volume is of value as an independent rendering of the difficult Chinese text by a highly qualified linguist. Certain errors in his work were corrected by Watters in his articles 'Fa-hsien and his English Translators', in the *China Review*, vol. viii. Giles's version

The latest translation, that of Dr. Legge (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886), is on the whole the most serviceable; the author having had the advantage of using his predecessors' labours. But the notes leave much to be desired The final translation of Fa-hien's Travels, equipped with an up-to-date commentary adequately fulfilling the requirements of both Chinese and Indian scholarship, has not yet appeared; and the production of such a work by a single writer is almost impossible. Legge's version.

The proper spelling of Hiuen Tsang's name has been the subject of considerable discussion; and the variation in practice has been, and still is, very great.[2] Name of Hiuen Tsang.

The question may be considered as settled, so far as such matters can be settled, by the ruling of Professor Chavannes that 'deux orthographes sont admissibles; ou bien l'orthographe scientifique *Hiuen-Tsang*, ou bien l'orthographe conforme à la prononciation pékinoise *Hiuen-tchoang* [= *-chwāng* in English]'.[3]

[1] M. Chavannes (*Song Yun*, p. 53) agrees with Legge and Watters that Fa-hien began his travels in 399 A.D.

[2] Hiouen Thsang (Julien and Wade), Huan Chwang (Mayers), Yuèn Chwàng (Wylie), Hiuen Tsiang (Beal), Hsüan Chwang (Legge), Hhüen *K*wân (Nanjio), Yuan Chwâng (Rhys Davids). This list (*J. R. A. S.*, 1892, p. 387) might be extended. See *Watters*, i, 6.

[3] *Religieux Éminents*, Addenda, p. 202.

It must, of course, be remembered that to a French reader the initial *H* is in practice silent. Professor de Lacouperie also held that Hiuen Tsang was the best mode of spelling the name, and I have therefore adopted it. Mr. Beal's spelling, Hiuen Tsiang, which his books have made more or less familiar to English readers, is very nearly the same.

Julien's and Beal's versions.

M. Stanislas Julien's great work, which included a French version of both the *Life* and *Travels* of Hiuen Tsang (3 vols., Paris, 1853–8), has never been superseded; but is now very scarce and difficult to obtain. Mr. Beal's English version of the *Travels* appeared in 1885 in the volumes already cited: and was followed in 1888 by a translation of the *Life*. The notes were supplied to a large extent by Dr. Burgess. The student of Indian history finds himself compelled sometimes to consult both the French and English versions. The commentary in both is now out of date; but the deficiencies have been supplied in considerable measure by a work compiled by the late Mr. Watters, entitled *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* (R. As. Soc., 1904–5, 2 vols.). An adequate annotated translation of the *Life* and *Travels* of Hiuen Tsang would require the co-operation of a syndicate of scholars. The first draft of his book, the *Ta Tang-Hsi-yü-chi*, 'Records of Western Lands of the Great Tang Period,' was presented to the Emperor in 646, but the book, as we have it now, was not completed until 648. It was apparently copied and circulated in MS. in its early form during the author's life, and for some time after. There are several editions, which present considerable variations in both the text and the supplementary notes and explanations. The 'Han-shan' recension, which seems to be the only one hitherto known to Western scholars, is substantially a modern Soochow reprint of an edition of the Ming period. Three other editions were consulted by Mr. Watters, who has noted the more important variant readings (*On Yuan Chwang*, ch. 1). The pilgrim's route can be traced by the help of the Itinerary and maps added by the author to the second volume of Mr. Watters's book.

Song-yun and Ū-kong.

The small work descriptive of the mission of Song-yun and Hwei-Săng, early in the sixth century, has been translated by Mr. Beal in the first volume of *Records*. A revised critical translation in French, fully annotated, has been published recently by M. Chavannes [1].

[1] *Voyage de Song Yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhāra* (518–22, p. C.), in *Bull. de l'École Fr. d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi, 1903). This excellent work contains notices of many other early pilgrims, including Che-mong (Tche-mong), who quitted China in 404 A.D., only five years later than Fa-hien (p. 53); and Fa-yong, who started in 420 A.D.

The itinerary of Ū-k'ong (Ou-k'ong), who travelled in the eighth century A. D., has been translated by Messrs. Sylvain Lévi and Chavannes [1]

The latter scholar has published (Paris, 1894) an admirably edited version of a work by I-tsing (Yi-tsing), entitled *Les Religieux Éminents qui allèrent chercher la loi dans les pays d'occident,* which gives an account of no less than sixty Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who visited India in the latter half of the seventh century A. D. Sixty pilgrims in seventh century.

I-tsing, who died in 713 A. D., at the age of seventy-nine, was himself a pilgrim of no small distinction. His interesting work, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as practised in India and the Malay Archipelago* (671–95 A. D.), has been skilfully translated by Dr. J. Takakusu (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1896). This book, while invaluable for the history of Buddhism and Sanskrit literature, contributes little to the materials for political history. I-tsing.

[1] *Journal Asiatique*, 1895.

CHAPTER II

THE DYNASTIES BEFORE ALEXANDER

600 B.C. TO 326 B.C.

History limited by chronology.

THE political history of India begins for an orthodox Hindu more than three thousand years before the Christian era with the famous war waged on the banks of the Jumna, between the sons of Kuru and the sons of Pandu, as related in the vast epic known as the Mahābhārata.[1] But the modern critic fails to find sober history in bardic tales, and is constrained to travel down the stream of time much farther before he comes to an anchorage of solid fact. In order to be available for the purpose of history, events must be susceptible of arrangement in definite chronological order, and capable of being dated approximately, if not exactly. Facts to which dates cannot be assigned, although they may be invaluable for the purposes of ethnology, philology, and other sciences, are of no use to the historian. Modern research has brought to light innumerable facts of the highest scientific value concerning prehistoric India, but the impossibility of assigning dates to the phenomena discovered excludes them from the domain of the historian, whose vision cannot pass the line which separates the dated from the undated.

Beginning of historical period.

That line, in the case of India, may be drawn, at the earliest, through the middle of the seventh century B.C.; a period of progress, marked by the development of maritime commerce, and probably by the diffusion of a knowledge of the art of writing. Up to about that time the inhabitants of India, even the most intellectual races, seem to have been

[1] The epoch of the Kaliyuga, 3102 B.C., is usually identified with the era of Yudhisthira, and the date of the Mahābhārata war. But certain astronomers date the war more than six centuries later (Cunningham, *Indian Eras*, pp. 6–13).

generally ignorant of the art of writing, and to have been obliged to trust to highly trained memory for the transmission of knowledge.[1]

Sixteen states in N. India.

In those days vast territories were still covered by forest, the home of countless wild beasts and scanty tribes of savage men; but regions of great extent in Northern India had been occupied for untold centuries by more or less civilized communities of the higher races who, from time to time, during the unrecorded past, had pierced the mountain barriers of the north-western frontier. Practically nothing is ascertained concerning the immigration of the possibly equally advanced Dravidian races who entered India, we know not how or whence, spread over the plateau of the Deccan, and penetrated to the extremity of the Peninsula. Our slender stock of knowledge is limited to the fortunes of the vigorous races, speaking an Aryan tongue, who poured down from the mountains of the Hindū Kush and Pāmīrs, filling the plains of the Panjāb and the upper basin of the Ganges with a sturdy and quick-witted population, unquestionably superior to the aboriginal races. The settled country between the Himalaya mountains and the Narbadā river was divided into a multitude of independent states, some monarchies, and some tribal republics, owning no allegiance to any paramount power, secluded from the outer world, and free to fight among themselves. The most ancient literary traditions, compiled probably in the fourth or fifth century B.C., but looking back to an older time, enumerate sixteen of such states or powers, extending from Gandhāra, on the extreme north-west of the

[1] J. Kennedy, 'The Early Commerce of India with Babylon; 700–300 B.C.' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1898, pp. 241–88); Bühler, 'Indische Palaeographie' (*Grundriss Indo-Ar. Phil. und Alt.*, Strassburg, 1898; transl. as Appendix to *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxiii (1904)); 'On the Origin of the Brāhma and Kharoṣṭhī Alphabets (two papers, in *Sitzb. Akad. Wiss. Wien*, 1895; Hoernle, 'An Epigraphical Note on Palm-leaf, Paper, and Birchbark' (*J.A.S.B.*, vol. lxix, part 1, 1900). The art of writing may have been introduced by merchants on the south-western coast as early as the eighth century B.C. The knowledge of the art seems to have gradually spread to the north, where probably it became widely known during the seventh century. But, of course, no data exist for accurate chronology. So much is clear that writing must have been known long before the appearance of the earliest extant inscriptions in the third century B.C.

Panjāb, the modern districts of Peshāwar and Rāwalpindi, to Avanti or Mālwā, with its capital Ujjain, which still retains its ancient name unchanged.[1]

Religion and history.

The works of ancient Indian writers from which our historical data are extracted do not ordinarily profess to be histories, and are mostly religious treatises of various kinds. In such compositions the religious element necessarily takes the foremost place, and the secular affairs of the world occupy a very subordinate position. The particulars of political history incidentally recorded refer in consequence chiefly to the countries most prominent in the development of Indian religion.

Jainism and Buddhism.

The systems which we call Jainism and Buddhism had their roots in the forgotten philosophies of the prehistoric past; but, as we know them, were founded respectively by Vardhamāna Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha. Both these philosophers, who were for many years contemporary, were born, lived, and died in or near the kingdom of Magadha, the modern Bihār. Mahāvīra, the son of a nobleman of Vaisāli, the famous city north of the Ganges, was nearly related to the royal family of Magadha, and died at Pāwa, in the modern district of Patna, within the territory of that kingdom.[2]

Gautama Buddha, although born farther north, in the Sākya territory at the foot of the Nepāl hills,[3] underwent

[1] The list will be found in full in Rhys Davids's *Buddhist India*, p. 23. The first two chapters of that work furnish full references to the Pāli texts which give information about the clans and states in the fifth and sixth centuries. Professor Rhys Davids is inclined to attribute higher antiquity to the Pāli Buddhist scriptures than some other scholars can admit.

[2] The best summary in English of the early history of Jainism is that given by Dr. Hoernle in pp. 3–17 of his presidential address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, delivered on February 2, 1898 (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1898, pp. 39–53). The tract entitled *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, by Buhler, translated and edited by Burgess (London, Luzac & Co.), may also be consulted; it gives many references. Dr. Guérinot's *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina* (Paris, 1906) is a complete guide to all works dealing with Jainism up to the date of publication.

[3] The Śākya territory, to the north of the modern Basti and Gorakhpur Districts, probably was a dependency of Kosala. 'The Blessed One also is of Kosala' (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 114).

his most memorable spiritual experiences at Bōdh Gayā in Magadha, and spent many years of his ministry within the limits of that state. The Buddhist and Jain books, therefore, tell us much about the Vrijjian confederacy, of which Vaisāli was the capital,[1] and about Magadha, with its subordinate kingdom of Anga.

Kosala and Kāśī.

The neighbouring realm of Kosala, the modern kingdom of Oudh, was closely connected with Magadha by many ties; and its capital Srāvastī (Savatthi), situated on the upper course of the Rāpti at the foot of the hills,[2] was the reputed scene of many of Buddha's most striking discourses.

In the sixth century B.C. Kosala appears to have occupied the rank afterwards attained by Magadha, and to have enjoyed precedence as the premier state of Upper India. It is therefore as often mentioned as the rival power. At the beginning of the historical period, the smaller kingdom of Kāsī, or Benares, had lost its independence, and had been annexed by Kosala, with which its fortunes were indissolubly bound up. This little kingdom owes its fame in the ancient books not only to its connexion with its powerful neighbour, but also to its being one of the most sacred spots in Buddhist church history, the scene of Buddha's earliest public preaching, where he first 'turned the wheel of the Law'.

Kings of Magadha.

The reputation for special sanctity enjoyed by both Benares and Gayā in Magadha among orthodox Brahmanical Hindus adds little to the detailed information available, which is mainly derived from the writings of Jains and Buddhists, who were esteemed as heretics by the worshippers of the old gods. But the Brahmanical Purānas, compiled centuries

[1] Basār (N. lat. 25° 58′ 20″, E. long. 85° 11′ 30″), and the neighbouring village of Bakhirā, in the District of Muzaffarpur, situated about twenty-seven miles a little west of north from Patna, represent the ancient Vaisāli (V. A. Smith, 'Vaisāli,' *J. R. A. S.*, 1902, pp. 267–88). I cannot agree with Prof. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 49) that its exact site is unknown. See Dr. Bloch's 'Excavations at Basārh', *Archaeol. S. Annual Rep.*, 1903 4, pp. 81–122.

[2] The exact site of Śrāvastī, being buried in the jungles of Nepāl, is not known, but its *approximate* position to the north-east of Nepālganj or Bānkī, in about N. lat. 28° 6′, and E. long. 81° 50′, has been determined (V. A. Smith, 'Kauśāmbi and Śrāvastī,' *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, pp. 502–31, with map; 'Srāvastī,' ibid., 1900, pp. 1–24).

later in honour of the orthodox deities,[1] happily include lists of the Buddhist and other kings of Magadha, which had become, before the time of their compilation, the recognized centre both religious and political of India; and so it happens that the Jain, Buddhist, and Brahmanical books combined tell us much about the history of Magadha, Anga, Kosala, Kāsī, and Vaisāli, while they leave us in the dark concerning the fortunes of most other parts of India.

Śaiśunāga dynasty.

In the Puranic lists the earliest dynasty which can claim historical reality is that known as the Saisunāga, from the name of its founder Sisunāga.

cir. 600 B.C.

He was, apparently, the king, or Rāja, of a petty state, corresponding roughly with the present Patna and Gayā Districts; his capital being Rājagriha (Rājgir), among the hills near Gayā. Nothing is known about his history; and the second, third, and fourth kings are likewise mere names.

Bimbisāra *cir.* 528 B.C.

The first monarch about whom anything substantial is known is Bimbisāra, or Srēnika, the fifth of his line. He is credited with the building of New Rājagriha, the lower town at the base of the hill crowned by the ancient fort; and with the annexation of Anga, the small kingdom to the east, corresponding with the modern district of Bhāgalpur, and probably including Monghyr (Mūngīr).[2] The annexation of Anga was the first step taken by the kingdom of Magadha in its advance to greatness and the position of supremacy which it attained in the following century; and Bimbisāra may be regarded as the real founder of the Magadhan imperial power. He strengthened his position by matrimonial alliances with the more powerful of the neighbouring states, taking one consort from the royal family of Kosala, and

[1] The oldest of the Purāṇas, the Vāyu, probably dates from the fourth century A.D., in its present form.

[2] Jacobi, *Introd.*, vol. xxii, *S.B.E.* Rājgīr is situated in N. lat. 25° 0′ 45″, E. long. 85° 28′, about NE. from Gayā, and SSE. from Patna. The very ancient town on the hill is believed to have been founded by the mythical king, Jarāsandha. For the antiquities, see Cunningham, *Reports*, vols. i, iii, viii, and Caddy, *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1895, p. 160. These accounts are far from satisfactory, and Rājgīr, like most of the really ancient sites in India, still awaits accurate survey and scientific exploration.

another from the influential Lichchhavi clan at Vaisāli.[1] The latter lady was the mother of Ajātasatru, also called Kūnika, or Kūniya, the son who was selected as heir-apparent and crown prince. If tradition may be believed, the reign of Bimbisāra lasted for twenty-eight years; and it is said that, towards its close, he resigned the royal power into the hands of this favourite son, and retired into private life. But the young prince was impatient, and could not bear to await the slow process of nature. Well-attested tradition brands him as a parricide, and accuses him of having done his father to death by the agonies of starvation.

Orthodox Buddhist tradition affirms that this hideous crime was instigated by Devadatta, Buddha's cousin, who figures in the legends as a malignant plotter and wicked schismatic;[2] but ecclesiastical rancour may be suspected of the responsibility for this accusation. Devadatta certainly refused to accept the teaching of Gautama, and, preferring that of 'the former Buddhas', became the founder and head of a rival sect, which still survived in the seventh century A.D.[3] Devadatta.

Schism has always been esteemed by the orthodox a deadly sin, and in all ages the unsuccessful heretic has been branded as a villain by the winning sect. Such, probably, is the

[1] The Lichchhavis occupy a very prominent place in the Buddhist ecclesiastical legends. The Jains spell the name as *Lechchhaki* (Prākrit, *Lechchhaī*) (Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, xxii, 266). For the Tibetan affinities of the Lichchhavis see *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 233.

[2] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 14; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 90, 94, from Tibetan sources.

[3] These heretics were seen by Fa-hien at Śrāvastī in or about 405 A.D. 'There are also companies of the followers of Devadatta still existing. They regularly make offerings to the three previous Buddhas, but not to Śākyamuni [*scil.* Gautama] Buddha' (*Travels*, ch. xxii, in Legge's version. All the versions agree as to the fact). In the seventh century Hiuen Tsang found three monasteries of Devadatta's sect in Karnasuvarna, Bengal (Beal, *Records*, ii, 201; *Life*, p. 131). Detailed legends concerning Devadatta will be found in Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha* (see Index), and the disciplinary rules of his order on p. 87 of that work. The fact that Asoka twice repaired the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni, one of 'the previous Buddhas', proves that reverence for those saints was not incompatible with devotion to the teaching of their successor, Gautama (Niglīva Pillar inscription, in *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, p. 146). Very little is known about the teaching of 'the previous Buddhas'. Three of them seem to have been real persons, namely, Krakuchanda, Kanakamuni, and Kāśyapa.

origin of the numerous tales concerning the villanies of Devadatta, including the supposed incitement of his princely patron to commit the crime of parricide.

Death of Mahāvīra and Buddha.

There seems to be no doubt that both Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the founder of the system known as Jainism, and Gautama, the last Buddha, the founder of Buddhism as known to later ages, were preaching in Magadha during the reign of Bimbisāra, although it is difficult to reconcile traditional dates.

The Jain saint, who was a near relative of Bimbisāra's queen, the mother of Ajātasatru, probably passed away very soon after the close of Bimbisāra's reign, and early in that of Ajātasatru; while the death of Gautama Buddha occurred not much later. There is reason to believe that the latter event took place in or about the year 487 B.C.[1]

Interview of Buddha with Ajātaśatru.

Gautama Buddha was certainly an old man when Ajātasatru, or Kūnika, as the Jains call him, came to the throne about 500 B.C.; and he had at least one interview with that king.

One of the earliest Buddhist documents narrates in detail the story of a visit paid to Buddha by Ajātasatru, who is alleged to have expressed remorse for his crime, and to have professed his faith in Buddha, who accepted his confession of sin. The concluding passage of the tale may be quoted as an illustration of an ancient Buddhist view of the relations between Church and State.

'And when he had thus spoken, Ajātasatru the king said to the Blessed One: "Most excellent, Lord, most excellent! Just as if a man were to set up that which has been thrown down, or were to reveal that which is hidden away, or were to point out the right road to him who has gone astray, or were to bring a lamp into the darkness so that those who have eyes could see external forms—just even so, Lord, has the truth been made known to me, in many a figure, by the Blessed One. And now I betake myself, Lord, to the Blessed One as my refuge, to the Truth, and to the Order. May the Blessed One accept me as a disciple, as one who, from this day forth, as long as life endures, has taken his

[1] For the uncertain chronology, see Appendix C at the end of this chapter.

refuge in them. Sin has overcome me, Lord, weak and foolish and wrong that I am, in that for the sake of sovranty, I put to death my father, that righteous man, that righteous king! May the Blessed One accept it of me, Lord, that I do so acknowledge it as a sin, to the end that in future I may restrain myself."

'"Verily, O king, it was sin that overcame you in acting thus. But inasmuch as you look upon it as sin, and confess it according to what is right, we accept your confession as to that.

'"For that, O king, is custom in the discipline of the noble ones, that whosoever looks upon his fault as a fault, and rightfully confesses it, shall attain to self-restraint in future."

'When he had thus spoken, Ajātasatru the king said to the Blessed One, "Now, Lord, we would fain go. We are busy, and there is much to do."

'"Do, O king, whatever seemeth to thee fit."

'Then Ajātasatru the king, pleased and delighted with the words of the Blessed One, arose from his seat, and bowed to the Blessed One, and keeping him on the right hand as he passed him, departed thence.

'Now the Blessed One, not long after Ajātasatru the king had gone, addressed the brethren, and said: "This king, brethren, was deeply affected, he was touched in heart. If, brethren, the king had not put his father to death, that righteous man, and righteous king, then would the clear and spotless eye for the truth have arisen in him, even as he sat here."

'Thus spake the Blessed One. The brethren were pleased and delighted at his words.'[1]

It is difficult to sympathize with the pleasure and delight of the brethren. The stern and fearless reprobation of a deed of exceptional atrocity which we should expect from Comment.

[1] Translated from the *Sāmañña-phala Sūtra*, by Prof. Rhys Davids in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, 1899. I have used the ordinary spelling Ajātaśatru instead of Agātasattu, as in the *Dialogues*. Throughout this work the Sanskrit forms are generally employed for the sake of uniformity. The Tibetan version of the Sūtra is translated by Rockhill (*Life*, p. 95, foll.). The visit is depicted in a bas-relief from the *stūpa* of Barhut (Bharhut, Bharaut), executed probably about 200 B.C. (Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. xvi; Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 14, fig. 2).

a great moral teacher is wholly wanting in Buddha's words, and is poorly compensated for by the politeness of a courtier. Whatever be the reader's judgement concerning the sincerity of the royal penitent, or the moral courage of his father confessor, it is clear from the unanimity of tradition that the crime on which the story is based really occurred, and that Ajātasatru slew his father to gain a throne. But when the Ceylonese chronicler asks us to believe that he was followed in due course by four other parricide kings, of whom the last was dethroned by his minister, with the approval of a justly indignant people, it is difficult to accept the statement as true, although the history of Parthia presents a nearly exact parallel in the succession of three parricide monarchs.[1]

War with Kosala.

The crime by which he gained the throne naturally involved Ajātasatru in war with the aged king of Kosala, whose sister, the queen of the murdered Bimbisāra, is alleged to have died from grief. Fortune in the contest inclined, now to one side, and now to another; and on one occasion, it is said, Ajātasatru was carried away as a prisoner in chains to his opponent's capital. Ultimately peace was concluded, and a princess of Kosala was given in marriage to the king of Magadha. The facts of the struggle are obscure, being wrapped up in legendary matter from which it is impossible to disentangle them; but the probability is that Ajātasatru won for Magadha a decided preponderance over its neighbour of Kosala. It is certain that the latter kingdom is not again mentioned as an independent power, and that in the fourth century B.C. it formed an integral part of the Magadhan empire.

Conquest of Vaisāli

The ambition of Ajātasatru, not satisfied with the humiliation of Kosala, next induced him to undertake the conquest of the country to the north of the Ganges, now known as Tirhūt, in which the Lichchhavi clan, famous in Buddhist legend, then occupied a prominent position. The invasion was successful; the Lichchhavi capital, Vaisāli, was occupied, and Ajātasatru became master of his maternal grandfather's

[1] *Mahāvaṁśa*, ch. IV. The Parthian kings were Orodes, Phraates IV, and Phraates V (Von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans*, p. 116).

territory.[1] It is probable that the invader carried his victorious arms to their natural limit, the foot of the mountains, and that from this time the whole region between the Ganges and the Himalaya became subject, more or less directly, to the suzerainty of Magadha.

Foundation of Pātaliputra.

The victor erected a fortress at the village of Pātali on the bank of the Ganges to curb his Lichchhavi opponents. The foundations of a city nestling under the shelter of the fortress were laid by his grandson Udaya. The city so founded was known variously as Kusumapura, Pushpapura, or Pātaliputra, and rapidly developed in size and magnificence; until, under the Maurya dynasty, it became the capital, not only of Magadha, but of India.[2]

Massacre of the Śākyas, cir. 490 B.C.

Buddha, as has been mentioned above, died early in the reign of Ajātasatru. Shortly before his death, Kapilavastu, his ancestral home, was captured by Virūdhaka, king of Kosala, who is alleged to have perpetrated a ferocious massacre of the Sākya clan to which Buddha belonged. The story is so thickly encrusted with miraculous legend that the details of the event cannot be ascertained, but the coating of miracle was probably deposited upon a basis of fact, and we may believe that the Sākyas suffered much at the hands of Virūdhaka.[3]

Persian conquests.

If the chronology adopted in this chapter be even approximately correct, Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru must be regarded

[1] According to the Jains, the mother of Ajātaśatru was Chellanā, daughter of Chetaka, Rāja of Vaisāli (Jacobi, *Introd. S. B. E.*, vol. xxii). According to the Tibetan Dulva, she was named Vāsavī, and was the niece of Gopāla (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 63).

[2] The names Kusumapura and Pushpapura are synonymous, both meaning 'Flower-town'; *pāṭali* means 'trumpet-flower,' *Bignonia suaveolens*. The story of the fortress is told in the Buddhist 'Book of the Great Decease' (*Mahā parinibbāna Sutta*), of which the Tibetan version is summarized by Rockhill, op. cit., p. 127. The building of the city by Udaya is attested by the Vāyu Purāna. Asoka made Pātaliputra the permanent capital (Hiuen Tsang, in Beal, *Records*, ii, 85), but it was already the royal residence in the time of his grandfather, Chandragupta, when Megasthenes visited it.

[3] The story is in all the books about Buddhism. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, p. 11) gives references to the Pāli authorities. For the site and remains of Kapilavastu, see Mukherji and V. A. Smith, *Antiquities in the Tarāi, Nepāl* (Calcutta, 1901, being vol. xxvi, part 1, of *Archaeol. Survey Rep.*, *Imp. Series*).

as the contemporaries of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, autocrat of the Persian Empire from 521 to 485 B.C. Darius, who was a very capable ruler, employed his officers in the exploration of a great part of Asia by means of various expeditions.

cir. 500 B.C. One of these expeditions was dispatched at some date later than 516 B.C. to prove the feasibility of a passage by sea from the mouth of the Indus to Persia. The commander, Skylax of Karyanda in Karia, managed somehow to equip a squadron on the waters of the Panjāb rivers in the Gandhāra country, to make his way down to the ocean, and ultimately to reach the Red Sea. The particulars of his adventurous voyage have been lost, but we know that the information collected was of such value that, by utilizing it, Darius was enabled to annex the Indus valley, and to send his fleets into the Indian Ocean. The archers from India formed a valuable element in the army of Xerxes, and shared the defeat of Mardonius at Plataea.

The Indian satrapy. The conquered provinces were formed into a separate satrapy, the twentieth, which was considered the richest and most populous province of the empire. It paid the enormous tribute of 360 Euboic talents of gold-dust, or 185 hundredweights, worth fully a million sterling, and constituting about one-third of the total bullion revenue of the Asiatic provinces. Although the exact limits of the Indian satrapy cannot be determined, we know that it was distinct from Arīa (Herāt), Arachosia (Kandahār), and Gandaria (North-western Panjāb). It must have comprised, therefore, the course of the Indus from Kālabāgh to the sea, including the whole of Sind, and perhaps included a considerable portion of the Panjāb east of the Indus. But when Alexander invaded the country, nearly two centuries later, the Indus was the boundary between the Persian empire and India, and both the Panjāb and Sind were governed by numerous native princes.[1] In ancient times the courses of the rivers were

[1] Voyage of Skylax (*Herod.* v, 44). The *Periplus* attributed to Skylax, but really written between 338 and 335 B.C., does not treat of India (Muller, *Geogr. Graeci Minores*, vol. i, pp. xliv, 15-96).

quite different from what they now are, and vast tracts in Sind and the Panjāb, now desolate, were then rich and prosperous.[1] This fact largely explains the surprising value of the tribute paid by the twentieth satrapy.

When Ajātasatru's blood-stained life ended (*cir.* 475 B.C.), he was succeeded, according to the Purānas, by a son named Darsaka or Harshaka, who was in turn succeeded by his son Udaya.[2] The Buddhist books omit the intermediate name, and represent Udaya as the son and immediate successor of Ajātasatru. It is difficult to decide which version is correct, but on the whole the authority of the Purānas seems to be preferable in this case. If Darsaka or Harshaka was a reality nothing is known about him. 475 B.C. Darśaka.

The reign of Udaya may be assumed to have begun about Udaya, &c., 450 B.C.

The city of Kaspatyros in the Paktyan land (Πακτυϊκὴ γῆ), from which Skylax began his voyage, is called Kaspapyros, a city of the Gandharians, by Hekataios. The site cannot be identified, and it is impossible to say which form of the name is correct. Gandhāra was the modern Peshāwar District and some adjacent territory. Kaspatyros, or Kaspapyros, has nothing to do with Kashmīr, as many writers have supposed (Stein, *Rājataranginī*, trans. ii. 353). Satrapies (*Herod.* iii. 88–106, esp. 94). The Euboic talent weighed 57·6 lb. avoirdupois; 360 talents = 20,736 lb., which, assuming silver to be worth five shillings (quarter of a sovereign) an ounce, or £4 per lb., and the ratio of silver to gold to be as 13 to 1, would be worth £1,078,272. If the Euboic talent be taken as equivalent to 78, not 70, *minae*, the figures given by Herodotus will tally. 360 gold talents = 4,680 talents of silver; the total bullion revenue for the Asiatic provinces (including a small part of Libya in Africa) was 14,560 silver talents (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 12, 14, 26, 30).

India is not included in the list of provinces in the Behistun inscription of 516 B.C., but is included in the lists in the Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustam inscriptions. The last-named record, inscribed on the sepulchre of Darius, is the fullest (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol ii, p. 403, note; iv, 177, 207).

For the Indian contingent in Xerxes' army, clad in cotton garments, and armed with cane bows and iron-tipped cane arrows, see *Herod.* vii, 65; viii, 13; ix, 91. The fact that the Indian troops used iron in 480 B.C. is worth noting.

[1] Raverty, 'The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries' (*J. A. S. B.*, 1892, part 1, esp. pp. 301, 311, 310, 361, 375, 377, 435, 454, 489).

[2] The name Udaya has variant forms, Udayana, Udayāśva, &c., in the Purāṇas. The Buddhists call him Udayi Bhadda (Udayibhadraka), and represent him as the son of Ajātaśatru, whose grandson he was, according to the Purāṇas (*Mahāvaṁśa*, ch. iv; *Dulva*, in Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 91; Rhys Davids, *Dialogues*, p. 68). The building of Pātaliputra by Udaya is asserted by the Vāyu Purāṇa.

450 B.C. The tradition that he built Pātaliputra is all that is known about him.

417 B.C. His successors, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, according to the Purānic lists, are still more shadowy, mere *nominis umbrae*. Mahānandin, the last of the dynasty, is said to have had by a Sūdra, or low-caste, woman a son named Mahāpadma Nanda, who usurped the throne, and so estab-
371 B.C. lished the Nanda family or dynasty. This event may be dated in or about 371 B.C.

The Nandas. At this point all our authorities become unintelligible and incredible. The Purānas treat the Nanda dynasty as consisting of two generations only, Mahāpadma and his eight sons, of whom one was named Sumālya. These two generations are supposed to have reigned for a century, which cannot possibly be true. The Jains, doing still greater violence to reason, extend the duration of the dynasty to 155 years, while the Buddhist Mahāvamsa, Dīpavamsa, and Asokāvadāna deepen the confusion by hopelessly muddled and contradictory stories not worth repeating. Some powerful motive must have existed for the distortion of the history of the so-called 'Nine Nandas' in all forms of the tradition, but it is not easy to make even a plausible guess at the nature of that motive.

Greek accounts. The Greek and Roman historians, who derived their information from either Megasthenes or the companions of Alexander, and thus rank as contemporary witnesses reported at second hand, throw a little light on the real history. When Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis
326 B.C. in 326 B.C., he was informed by a native chieftain named Bhagala or Bhagēla, whose statements were confirmed by Pōros, that the king of the Gangaridae and Prasii nations on the banks of the Ganges was named, as nearly as the Greeks could catch the unfamiliar sounds, Xandrames or Agrammes. This monarch was said to command a force of 20,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots, and 3,000 or 4,000 elephants. Inasmuch as the capital of the Prasii nation was undoubtedly Pātaliputra, the reports made to Alexander can have referred only to the king of Magadha,

who must have been one of the Nandas mentioned in native tradition.[1] The reigning king was alleged to be extremely unpopular, owing to his wickedness and base origin. He was, it is said, the son of a barber, who, having become the paramour of the queen of the last legitimate sovereign, contrived the king's death, and, under pretence of acting as guardian to his sons, got them into his power, and exterminated the royal family. After their extermination he begat the son who was reigning at the time of Alexander's campaign, and who, 'more worthy of his father's condition than his own, was odious and contemptible to his subjects.'[2]

This story confirms the statements of the Purānas that the Nanda dynasty was of ambiguous origin and comprised only two generations. The Vishnu Purāna brands the first Nanda, Mahāpadma, as an avaricious person, whose reign marked the end of the Kshatriya, or high born, princes, and the beginning of the rule of those of low degree, ranking as Sūdras. The Mahāvamsa, when it dubs the last Nanda by the name of Dhana or 'Riches', seems to hint at the imputation of avariciousness made against the first Nanda by the Purānic writer; and the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang also refers to the Nanda Rāja as the reputed possessor of great wealth.[3] Indian traditions.

By putting all the hints together we may conclude with tolerable certainty that the Nanda family really was of base origin, that it acquired power by the assassination of the legitimate king, and retained possession of the throne for two generations only. The great military power of the usurpers, as attested by Greek testimony, was the result of Summary.

[1] *Curtius*, bk. ix, ch. 2; *Diodorus*, bk. xvii, ch. 93. The interpretation of the name Phegelas in the text of Curtius as Bhagala is due to M. Sylvain Lévi (*Journal As.*, 1890, p. 239). The name Bhagēlū is still often heard in Northern India. The names of the Gangaridae and Prasii are corrupted in some texts (McCrindle, *Alexander*, notes C c and D *d*).

[2] Agrammes (*Curtius*, bk. ix, ch. 2), Xandrames (*Diodorus*, bk. xvii, ch. 93). All the Hindu and Greek versions of the story are collected in H. H. Wilson's Preface to the *Mudrā-Rākshasa* (*Theatre of the Hindus*, ii, pp. 129–50). The tales in the *Vṛihat-Kathā* and *Mackenzie MSS.* are mere folk-lore.

[3] The five *stūpas* near Pātaliputra ascribed to Asoka were attributed by another tradition to Nanda Rāja, and supposed to be his treasuries (*Beal*, ii, 94).

the conquests effected by Bimbisāra and Ajātasatru, and presumably continued by their successors; but the limits of the Nanda dominions cannot be defined, nor can the dates of the dynasty be determined with accuracy. It is quite certain that the two generations did not last for a hundred and fifty-five, or even for a hundred, years; but it is impossible to determine the actual duration; and the period of fifty years has been assumed as being credible and fitting into the chronological scheme.[1]

Rise of Chandragupta Maurya, 321 B.C.

However mysterious the Nine Nandas may be—if, indeed, they really were nine—there is no doubt that the last of them was deposed and slain by Chandragupta Maurya, who seems to have been an illegitimate scion of the family. There is no difficulty in believing the tradition that the revolution involved the extermination of all related to the fallen monarch, for revolutions in the East are not effected without much shedding of blood. Nor is there any reason to discredit the statements that the usurper was attacked by a confederacy of the northern powers, including Kashmīr, and that the attack failed owing to the Machiavellian intrigues of Chandragupta's Brahman adviser, who is variously named Chānakya, Kautalya, and Vishnugupta. But it would not be safe to rely on the details given in our only authority, a play written centuries after the events referred to; nor would there be any use in recounting the wondrous tales, mostly belonging to the world's common stock of folk-lore, which have been recorded in various books, and relate the miracles attendant upon the birth and youth of Chandragupta, the first universal monarch of India.[2]

[1] Nanda Rāja is twice mentioned by Khāravēla, king of Kalinga, in the long, but unfortunately mutilated, history of his reign which he inscribed on the Hāthigumphā Cave at Udayagiri, in the year 165 current, 164 expired, of the Maurya Era. If that era ran from 321, the date of the inscription would be 157 B.C. If the Maurya Era was synchronous with the Seleukidan, the date would be 148 B.C. In the fifth year of his reign (probably 165 B.C.) Khāravēla repaired a pond (*sattra*) formerly constructed by Nanda Rāja. In his twelfth year he defeated the king of Magadha, either Pushyamitra or Agnimitra Śunga, and in his account of his proceedings again mentions Nanda Rāja. Unluckily the passage is nearly all illegible (Bhagwān Lāl Indrajī, *Actes du Sixième Congrès Orient.*, tome iii, pp. 174–7).

[2] The *Mudrā-Rākshasa* play gives

Accession of Chandragupta

His accession to the throne of Magadha may be dated with practical certainty in 321 B.C. The dominions of the Magadha crown were then extensive, certainly including the territories of the nations called Prasii and Gangaridae by the Greeks, and probably comprising at least the kingdoms of Kosala and Benares, as well as Anga and Magadha proper. Four years before the revolution at Pātaliputra, Alexander had swept like a hurricane through the Panjāb and Sind, and it is said that Chandragupta, then a youth, met the mighty Macedonian.[1] Whether that anecdote be true or not, it is certain that the troubles consequent upon the death of Alexander in the summer of 323 B.C. gave young Chandragupta his opportunity. He assumed the command of the native revolt against the foreigner, and destroyed most of the Macedonian garrisons. He had thus become the master of north-western India before he attempted the revolution in Magadha;[2] and when that enterprise was accomplished, he was undoubtedly the paramount power in India. But before the story of the deeds of Chandragupta Maurya and the descendants who succeeded him on the throne of Magadha can be told, we must pause to unfold the wondrous tale of the Indian adventure of 'Philip's warlike son'.

a very interesting and detailed account of the revolution. It was written, probably, early in the seventh century A.D. (Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1900, p. 535).

[1] Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, ch. lxii.

[2] Some authors are of opinion that Chandragupta rose to power in Magadha, and that his conquest of the Punjāb was subsequent. The language of Justin (xv, 4), and Plutarch's anecdote that Chandragupta in his youth met Alexander seem to me to support the statement in the text; but the evidence is not conclusive in either sense.

APPENDIX C

Chronology of the Śaiśunāga and Nanda Dynasties.

Fixed data.

Although the discrepant traditionary materials available do not permit the determination with accuracy of the chronology of the Śaiśunāga and Nanda dynasties, it is, I venture to think, possible to attain a tolerably close approximation to the truth, and to reconcile some, but not all, of the traditions. The fixed point from which to reckon backwards is the year 321 B.C., the date for the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, which is certainly correct, with a possible error not exceeding two years.[1] The second principal datum is the list of ten kings of the Śaiśunāga dynasty as given in the oldest of the Purāṇas, the *Vāyu*, the general correctness of which is confirmed by several lines of evidence; and the third is the probable date of the death of Buddha.

Duration of reigns.

Although the fact that the Śaiśunāga dynasty consisted of ten kings may be admitted, the duration assigned by the Purāṇas to the dynasty as a whole, and to some of the reigns, cannot be accepted. Experience proves that in a long series an average of twenty-five years to a generation is rarely attained, and that this average is still more rarely exceeded in a series of reigns as distinguished from generations.

The English series of ten reigns from Charles II to Victoria inclusive (reckoning the accession of Charles II from the death of his father in 1649 A.D.) occupied 252 years, and included the two exceptionally long reigns of George III and Victoria, aggregating 124 years. The resultant average, 25·2 years per reign, may be taken as the maximum possible, and consequently 252 years are the maximum allowable for the ten Śaiśunāga reigns. The Purānic figures of 362 (*Vishnu*) and 332 (*Vāyu*) years may be rejected without hesitation as being incredible.

Anterior limit of date.

As stated in the text, the traditional periods assigned to the Nanda dynasty of 100 or 155 years for two generations are absolutely incredible. A more reasonable period of fifty years may be provisionally assumed. We thus get 302 (252 + 50) as the maximum period for the Śaiśunāga and Nanda dynasties combined; and, reckoning backwards from the fixed point, 321 B.C., *the year 623* B.C. *is found to be the earliest possible date for Śiśunāga, the first king.* But of course the true date may be, and probably is, somewhat later, because it is unlikely that twelve reigns (ten Śaiśunāga and two Nanda) attained an average of 25·16 years.

[1] It is quite possible that the coronation or *abhisheka* of Chandragupta took place some years later, and the 'Maurya Era', in which Khāravēla of Kalinga dates his inscription, may be identical with the Seleukidan Era beginning in October, 312 B.C.

The reigns of the fifth and sixth kings, Bimbisāra or Śrēnika, and Ajātaśatru or Kūṇika, were well remembered owing to the wars and events in religious history which marked them. We may therefore assume that the lengths of these reigns were known more or less accurately, and are justified in accepting the concurrent testimony of the *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas*, that Bimbisāra reigned for twenty-eight years. Probable actual reigns.

Ajātaśatru is assigned twenty-four, twenty-five, or twenty-seven years by various Purāṇas, and thirty-two years by Tibetan and Ceylonese Buddhist tradition. I assume the correctness of the oldest *Purāṇa*, the *Vāyu*. The existence of Darśaka (Harshaka), which rests only on the authority of the Purāṇas, and is denied by older Buddhist writers, is admitted on the principle of accepting the Purānic list of kings. If he existed, the reign of twenty-five years allotted to him may be accepted. Udaya, who is mentioned in the Buddhist books, and is said to have built Pāṭaliputra, is assigned thirty-three years by the *Purāṇas*, which may pass.

The *Vāyu* and *Matsya Purāṇas* respectively assign eighty-five and eighty-three years to the reigns of kings numbers nine and ten together. These figures are improbably high, and it is unlikely that the two reigns actually occupied more than fifty years. The figure 46 is assumed.

The evidence as far as it goes, and at best it does not amount to much, indicates that the average length of the later reigns was in excess of the normal figure. We may assume, therefore, that the first four reigns, about which nothing is known, were short, and did not exceed some seventy or eighty years collectively. An assumption that these reigns were longer would unduly prolong the total duration of the dynasty, the beginning of which must be dated about 600 B.C.

The existence of a great body of detailed traditions, which are not mere mythological legends, sufficiently establishes the facts that both Mahāvīra, the Jain leader, and Gautama Buddha were contemporary to a considerable extent with one another and with the kings Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru.[1] Traditional dates of Mahāvīra and Gautama.

Tradition also indicates that Mahāvīra predeceased Buddha, and that both holy men died early in the reign of Ajātaśatru. The deaths of these saints form well-marked epochs in the history of Indian religion, and are constantly referred to by ecclesiastical writers for chronological purposes. It might therefore be expected that the traditional dates of these two events would

[1] Jacobi, Introd., *S. B. E.*, vols. xxii, xlv; the visit of Kūṇiya (Ajātaśatru) is alluded to in § 1, p. 9, of the Jain *Uvāsaga Dasāo* (*Bibl. Ind.*, ed. and trans. Hoernle), and in the Buddhist *Dulva* (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 104). Dr. Hoernle has kindly supplied these references.

Death of Buddha, 487 B.C.

supply at once the desired clue to the dynastic chronology. But close examination of the conflicting traditions raises difficulties. The year 527 (528-7) B.C., the most commonly quoted date for the death of Mahāvīra, is merely one of several traditionary dates,[1] while the variety of dates assigned for the death of Buddha is almost past counting. The Ceylonese date, 543 B.C., is no better attested than the others, and is now generally admitted to be erroneous.[2]

If Buhler and Dr. Fleet are right in interpreting the figure 256 at the end of Asoka's Minor Rock Edicts as intended to express the number of years elapsed since the date of the death of Gautama Buddha; and if Dr. Fleet is right in his reading and translation of those edicts [3], then the accepted date for the death of Buddha in Asoka's time must have been B.C. 487 approximately. If Asoka really intended to mention the number of years elapsed since the death of Gautama, it is unlikely that he could have been ignorant of the true date. Apart from the doubtful interpretation of Asoka's edicts, three independent arguments confirm the approximate date as being 487 or 486 B.C.:

(1) Paramārtha, author of the *Life of Vasubandhu*, places the teachers Vrisha-gaṇa and Vīndhya-vāsa, who flourished in the fifth century A.D., as living in the tenth century after the Nirvāna.

(2) The 'dotted record' kept up at Canton until 489 A.D. showed 975 dots up to that year, 975-489 = 486 (Takakusu, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 51).

[1] Burgess, *Ind. Ant.*, ii, 139. Hoernle (ibid. xx, 360) discusses the contradictory Jain dates, and observes that although the Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects agree in placing the death of Mahāvīra 470 years before Vikrama, whose era begins in 57 or 58 B.C., the Digambaras reckon back from the birth, and the Śvetāmbaras from the accession of Vikrama. The books indicate that 551, or 543, or 527 B.C. may be regarded as the traditional date. See also ibid. ii, 363; ix, 158; xi, 245; xiii, 279; xxi, 57; and xxiii, 169, for further discussion of Jain chronology. Note especially the statements that Sthūlabhadra, ninth successor of Mahāvīra, who was *mantrin* of the ninth Nanda, died either 215 or 219 years after the death of Mahāvīra, the same year in which Nanda was slain by Chandragupta (ibid. xi, 246). Mērutunga dates Pushyamitra, who came to the throne *cir.* 184 B.C., in the period 323-53 after Mahāvīra (Weber, *Sacred Lit. of the Jains*, p. 133).

[2] The variant dates for the death of Buddha given by the Chinese and other authorities are too numerous and well known to need citation. 'Ist doch sogar die traditionelle Datierung des Todes des Buddha auf 543 v. Chr. ohne Zweifel falsch' (Geiger, *Dīpavaṁsa und Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 2; Erlangen und Leipzig, 1901).

[3] *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 829; 1904, pp. 1-26, 355. Dr. Fleet now considers 482 B.C. to be 'the most probable and satisfactory date that we are likely to obtain' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 667).

(3) One form of the Khotan tradition places Dharma Asoka 250 years after the Nirvāna of Buddha, and makes him contemporary with the Chinese Emperor, She-hwang-ti, the builder of the Great Wall, who came to the throne in 246 B.C., became 'universal emperor' in 221, and reigned until 210 (Sarat Chandra Dās, *J. A. S. B.*, part 1, 1886, pp. 193–203).

Fixed datum thus obtained.

Assuming the death of Buddha to have occurred about 487 B.C., the necessary inference follows that Ajātaśatru had begun to reign before 487 B.C., and a definite chronological datum for the Śaiśunāga dynasty is thus obtained. But it is not possible to bring both dates, 527 and 487, within the limits assigned to Ajātaśatru's reign by any of the authorities. The difference between 527 and 487 is forty, while the longest period assigned to Ajātaśatru is thirty-two years.

From all the foregoing arguments the following chronological table may be constructed :—

CHRONOLOGY (APPROXIMATE) OF ŚAIŚUNĀGA AND NANDA DYNASTIES.

Serial No.	*King (Vāyu Purāṇa).*	*Length of Reign.* *Vāyu P.*	*Length of Reign.* *Assumed.*	*Probable date of Accession.*	*Remarks.*
	Śaiśunāga Dynasty.			B. C.	
1	Śiśunāga . . .	40 } 136	} 72	600	} Nothing known.
2	Śākavarna . .	36		...	
3	Kshemadharman	20		...	
4	Kshattraujas .	40		...	
5	Bimbisāra . .	28	28	528	Built New Rājagriha; annexed Anga; contemporary with Mahāvīra and Gautama Buddha.
6	Ajātaśatru .	25	25	500	Parricide; death of Buddha, 487; built fort of Pātaliputra; wars with Kosala and Vaisāli.
7	Darśaka . . (Harshaka)	25	25	475	Nothing known.
8	Udaya . .	33	33	450	Built city of Pātaliputra.
9	Nandivardhana	42 } 85	} 16	417	} Nothing known.
10	Mahānandin .	43		...	
	Total . .	332	229		
	Average .	33·2	22·9		
	Nanda Dynasty				
11 } 12 }	Mahāpadma, &c. 9; 2 generations	} 100	} 50	371	
	Maurya Dynasty.				
13	Chandragupta .	24	24	321	
14	Bindusāra . .	25	25	297	
15	Asoka . . .	36	40	272	
	Death of Asoka			*cir.* 232	Tibetan tradition reckons 10 reigns from No. 6, Ajātaśatru, to No. 15, Asoka, inclusive; and places Asoka's accession in 234 A. B. (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 33, 233). He is said to have visited Khotan in 250 and 254 A. B. (*J.A.S.B.* 1886, part 1, pp. 195, 197).
	End of Maurya Dynasty			*cir.* 184	

CHAPTER III

ALEXANDER'S INDIAN CAMPAIGN: THE ADVANCE

April, 327 B.C. Passage of Hindū Kush.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT, having completed the subjugation of Bactria, resolved to execute his cherished purpose of emulating and surpassing the mythical exploits of Dionysos, Herakles, and Semiramis by effecting the conquest of India. Towards the close of spring in the year 327 B.C., when the sun had sufficiently melted the snows, he led his army, including perhaps fifty or sixty thousand Europeans, across the lofty Khāwak and Kaoshān passes of the Hindū Kush, or Indian Caucasus, and after ten days' toil amidst the mountains emerged in the rich valley now known as the Koh-i-Dāman.[1]

Alexandria under the Caucasus.

Here, two years earlier, before the Bactrian campaign, he had founded a town, named as usual, Alexandria, as a strategical outpost to secure his intended advance. The governor of this town, whose administration had been a failure, was replaced by Nikanor, son of Parmenion, the king's intimate friend; the population was recruited by fresh settlers from the surrounding districts; and the garrison was strengthened by a reinforcement of veterans discharged from the ranks of the expeditionary force as being unequal to the arduous labours of the coming campaign.[2]

[1] Ἐξήκοντος ἤδη τοῦ ἦρος (*Arrian*); i.e. late in April, or early in May. For identification of the passes see Holdich, *Report of the Pāmir Boundary Commission*, pp. 29, 30. The height of the Khāwak Pass, as marked on the India Office map of India, is 13,200 feet. The strength of the force that crossed the Hindū Kush is not known. The statement of Plutarch (*Alexander*, ch. lxvi) that his hero entered India with 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse may or may not be correct, and is open to much variety of interpretation.

[2] Alexandria 'under the Caucasus', or 'in the Paropanisadai', to distinguish it from the numerous other towns of the same name. The exact position cannot be determined, but its site *may* be marked by the extensive ruins at Opiān or Houpiān, near Chārikar, some thirty miles northward from Kābul. The old identification with Bāmiān is certainly erroneous (McCrindle,

Nikaia.

The important position of Alexandria, which commanded the roads over three passes, having been thus secured, in accordance with Alexander's customary caution, the civil administration of the country between the passes and the Kophēn, or Kābul, river was provided for by the appointment of Tyriaspes as satrap. Alexander, when assured that his communications were safe, advanced with his army to a city named Nikaia, situated to the west of the modern Jalālābād, on the road from Kābul to India.[1]

June or July, 327 B.C. Hephaistion and Perdikkas.

Here the king divided his forces. Generals Hephaistion and Perdikkas were ordered to proceed in advance with three brigades of infantry, half of the horse guards, and the whole of the mercenary cavalry by the direct road to India through the valley of the Kābul river, and to occupy Peukelaōtis, now the Yusufzī country, up to the Indus. Their instructions were couched in the spirit of the Roman maxim—'*Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*'.[2]

August, 327 B.C. Attitude of the native chiefs.

Most of the tribal chiefs preferred the alternative of submission, but one named Hasti (Astēs) ventured to resist. His stronghold, which held out for thirty days, was taken and destroyed. During this march eastward, Hephaistion and Perdikkas were accompanied by the king of Taxila, a great city beyond the Indus, who had lost no time in obeying Alexander's summons, and in placing his services at the disposal of the invader. Other chiefs on the western side of the Indus adopted the same course, and, with the

Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, 2nd ed., p. 58, and note A; Cunningham, *Anc. Geog. India*, pp. 21-6). Von Schwarz identifies Alexandria in the Paropanisadai with Kābul (*Alexander des Grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan*, pp. 94, 101, 102).

[1] The rival opinions concerning the site of Nikaia are collected by McCrindle (op. cit. note B). I follow General Abbott, who was clearly right, as Jalālābād marks the spot where the division of the army would naturally take place. Certain local chiefs, the Sultans of Pīch, claim descent from Alexander (Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 48-51).

[2] The ancient road did not pass through the Khaibar (Khyber) Pass (Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, 1901, p. 38); Foucher, *Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhāra* (Hanoi, 1902, in *Bull. de l'École Fr. d'Extrême Orient*). The Khaibar route was used probably once by Mahmūd of Ghaznī, and several times by Bābar and Humāyun. In the eighteenth century, Nādir Shah, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, and his grandson, Shāh-i-Zamān, all passed through the Khaibar (Raverty, *Notes*, pp. 38, 73).

help of these native potentates, the Macedonian generals were enabled to make satisfactory progress in the task of bridging the Indus, which had been committed to them by their sovereign.

August, September, 327 B.C. Alexander's flanking march.

Alexander in person assumed the command of the second corps or division, consisting of the infantry known as hypaspists, the foot guards, the Agrianian or Thracian light infantry, the archers, the mounted lancers, and the rest of the horse guards. With this force he undertook a flanking movement through the difficult hill country north of the Kābul river, in order to subdue the fierce tribes which inhabited, as they still inhabit, that region; and thus to secure his communications, and protect his army from attacks on the flank and rear. The difficulties of the operation due to the ruggedness of the country, the fierce heat of summer, the bitter cold of winter, and the martial spirit of the hillmen, were enormous; but no difficulties could daunt the courage or defeat the skill of Alexander.[1]

Details of his route unknown.

Although it is absolutely impossible to trace his movements with precision, or to identify with even approximate certainty the tribes which he encountered, or the strongholds which he captured and destroyed in the course of some five months' laborious marching; it is certain that he ascended the valley of the Kūnar river for a considerable distance. At a nameless town in the hills, Alexander was wounded in the shoulder by a dart; and the incident so enraged his troops that all the prisoners taken there were massacred, and the town was razed to the ground.[2]

[1] Ἀλλ' *οὔτε χειμὼν ἐγένετο ἐμποδὼν αὐτῷ οὔτε αἱ δυσχωρίαι . . . οὐδὲν ἄπορον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἦν ἐς ὅ, τι ὁρμήσειε* (Arrian, *Anab.* vii, 15).

[2] A list of very speculative identifications of tribes and places will be found in Bellew's *Ethnography of Afghanistan*, pp. 64–76 (Woking, 1891). The guesses of Cunningham and other writers are equally unsatisfactory. I do not agree with Mr. Pincott that Alexander went as far north as Chitrāl (*J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 681); but at present it is not possible to determine the point at which he turned eastwards, and crossed the mountains into Bājaur. It is, however, certain that he used one of the regular passes, which remain unchanged, and by which alone Bājaur territory can be entered. Raverty describes, from native information, two routes from Kābul to Bājaur; and it may well be that Alexander followed the 'left-hand,' or eastern one, which goes through

Second division of field-force.

Soon after this tragedy, Alexander again divided his forces, leaving Krateros, 'the man most faithful to him, and whom he valued equally with himself[1],' to complete the reduction of the tribesmen of the Kūnar valley; while the king in person led a body of picked troops against the Aspasians, who were defeated with great slaughter.

Entry into Bājaur.

He then crossed the mountains and entered the valley now called Bājaur, where he found a town named Arigaion, which had been burnt and abandoned by the inhabitants. Krateros, having completely executed his task in the Kūnar valley, now rejoined his master; and measures were concerted for the reduction of the tribes further east, whose subjugation was indispensable before an advance into India could be made with safety.

Final defeat of Aspasians.

The Aspasians were finally routed in a second great battle, losing, it is said, more than 40,000 prisoners, and 230,000 oxen. The perfection of the arrangements by which Alexander maintained communication with his remote European base is strikingly illustrated by the fact that he selected the best and handsomest of the captured cattle, and sent them to Macedonia for use in agriculture.

Nysa.

A fancied connexion with Dionysos and the sacred Mount Nysa of Greek legend gave special interest to the town and hill-state called Nysa, which was among the places next attacked.[2] An attempt to take the town by assault having failed by reason of the depth of the protecting river, Alexander was preparing to reduce it by blockade when the speedy submission of the inhabitants rendered further operations unnecessary. They are alleged to have craved his clemency on the ground that they were akin to Dionysos and the Greeks, because the ivy and vine grew in their country, and the triple-peaked mountain which overshadowed their town was no other than Mount Mēros. Alexander, who found such fancies useful as a stimulant to his home-sick

a village named Kūz Danāhi, where two roads diverge, of which one leads to Chitrāl, and the other to the Shahr, or capital of Bājaur (*Notes*, pp. 112–18).

[1] Arrian, *Anab.* vii, 12.

[2] Curtius (viii, 10), places the surrender of Nysa before the siege of Massaga.

troops, did not examine the evidence for the kinship with Dionysos in too critical a spirit, but was glad to accept the Nysaean appeals and to exercise a gracious clemency.

Revels.

In order to gratify his own curiosity, and to give some of his best troops a pleasant holiday, he paid a visit to the mountain, probably that now known as the Koh-i-Mōr, accompanied by an adequate escort of the companion cavalry and foot guards. The chants and dances of the natives, the ancestors of the Kāfirs of the present day, bore sufficient resemblance to the Bacchanalian rites of Hellas to justify the claims made by the Nysaeans, and to encourage the soldiers in their belief that, although far from home, they had at last found a people who shared their religion and might be regarded as kinsmen. Alexander humoured the convenient delusion and allowed his troops to enjoy, with the help of their native friends, a ten days' revel in the jungles. The Nysaeans, on their part, showed their gratitude for the clemency which they had experienced by contributing a contingent of three hundred horsemen, who remained with Alexander throughout the whole period of his advance, and were not sent home until October, 326 B.C., when he was about to start on his voyage down the rivers to the sea.[1]

[1] Arrian, *Anab.* v, 1, vi, 2; *Curtius*, viii, 10; *Justin*, xii, 7; Plutarch, *Alex.*, ch. lviii; *Strabo*, xv, 7–9. The conjectures concerning the identity of Nysa collected in McCrindle's Note G are unsatisfactory. Sir H. T. Holdich, whose knowledge of the frontier is unsurpassed, has been more successful, and has indicated the approximate position of Nysa with tolerable certainty. 'Elsewhere,' he writes (*Geogr. J.* for Jan., 1876), 'I have stated my reasons for believing that the Kamdesh Kafirs who sent hostages to the camp of Ghulam Haidar are descendants of those very Nysaeans who greeted Alexander as a co-religionist and compatriot, and were kindly treated by him in consequence. They had been there, in the Suwāt country bordering the slopes of the Koh-i-Mor ("Meros" of the Classics), from such ancient periods that the Makedonians could give no account of their advent; and they remained in the Suwāt country till comparatively recent Buddhist times . . . The lower spurs and valleys of the Koh-i-Mor where the ancient city of Nysa (or Nuson) once stood. Apparently it exists no longer above ground, though it may be found in the maps of thirty years ago, figuring as rather an important place under its old name . . . Bacchanalian processions . . . chanting hymns, as indeed they are chanted to this day by certain of the Kafirs' (Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, Methuen, 1901, pp. 270, 342). Properly speaking, Mēros was the name of a single peak of the triple-peaked mountain (τρικόρυφον ὄρος). The other sum-

The Assakēnoi and Massaga.

Alexander now undertook in person the reduction of the formidable nation called the Assakēnoi, who were reported to await him with an army of 20,000 cavalry, more than 30,000 infantry, and thirty elephants. Quitting the Bājaur territory, Alexander crossed the Gouraios (Panjkora) river, with a body of picked regiments, including, as usual, a large proportion of mounted troops, and entered the Assakenian territory, in order to attack Massaga, the greatest city of those parts and the seat of the sovereign power. This formidable fortress, probably to be identified with Minglaur or Manglawar, the ancient capital of Suwāt, was strongly fortified both by nature and art.[1] On the east, an impetuous mountain stream, the Suwāt river, flowing between steep banks, barred access; while, on the south and west, gigantic rocks, deep chasms, and treacherous morasses impeded the approach of an assailing force. Where nature failed to give adequate protection, art had stepped in, and had girdled the city with a mighty rampart, built of brick, stone, and timber, about four miles (35 *stadia*) in circumference, and guarded by a deep moat (*Q. Curtius*, viii, 10). While reconnoitring these formidable defences, and considering his plan of attack, Alexander was again wounded by an arrow. The wound was not very serious, and did not prevent him from continuing the active supervision of the siege operations, which were designed and controlled throughout by his master mind.

Storm of the fortress.

Commanded by such a general the meanest soldier becomes a hero. The troops laboured with such zeal that within nine days they had raised a mole level with the ground

mits were named Korasibiē and Kondasbē respectively (*Polyainos*, I, 1; p. 7 in ed. Melbar). The three peaks are visible from Peshāwar. Compare the anecdote of Conolly and his 'relatives, the Kāfirs' (Raverty, *Notes*, p. 129).

[1] Arrian, *Anab* iv, 26; *Indika*, 1; Stein, *Archaeol. Tour in Buner*, p. 53 (Lahore, 1898); Deane, 'Note on Udyāna and Gandhāra' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 655); Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 234. Minglaur, which has not been closely examined by any European visitor since the days of Alexander, was still a strong fortress in the sixteenth century, when it baffled Bābar. It is situated on the Suwāt river, in approximately N. lat. 34° 48′, E. long. 72° 28′, and is said to possess extensive ancient ruins. (Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 200, 234). The Greek and Roman writers spell the name variously, as Massaga, Massaka, Mazaga, and Masoga.

sufficient to bridge the moat, and to allow the movable towers and other engines to approach the walls. The garrison was disheartened by the death of their chief, who was killed by a blow from a missile discharged by an engine, and the place was taken by storm. Kleophis, the consort of the slain chieftain, and her infant son were captured, and it is said that she subsequently bore a son to Alexander.[1]

Massacre of mercenaries.

The garrison of Massaga had included a body of 7,000 mercenary troops from the plains of India. Alexander, by a special agreement, had granted these men their lives on condition that they should change sides and take service in his ranks. In pursuance of this agreement, they were allowed to retire and encamp on a small hill facing, and about nine miles (80 *stadia*) distant from, the Macedonian camp. The mercenaries, being unwilling to aid the foreigner in the subjugation of their countrymen, desired to evade the unwelcome obligation which they had incurred, and proposed to slip away by night and return to their homes. Alexander, having received information of their design, suddenly attacked the Indians while they reposed in fancied security and inflicted severe loss upon them. Recovering from their surprise, the mercenaries formed themselves into a hollow circle, with the women and children in the centre, and offered a desperate resistance, in which the women took an active part. At last, the gallant defenders were overpowered by superior numbers, and, in the words of an ancient historian, 'met a glorious death which they would have disdained to exchange for a life with dishonour'. The unarmed camp followers and the women were spared.[2]

Comment.

This incident, which has been severely condemned by various writers, ancient and modern, as a disgraceful breach

[1] Arrian (iv, 27) speaks of 'the mother and daughter of Assakênos.' Q. Curtius (viii, 10) states that 'Assacanus, its previous sovereign, had lately died, and his mother Cleophis now ruled the city and the realm'. He adds that 'the queen herself, having placed her son, still a child, at Alexander's knees, obtained not only pardon . . . at all events she afterwards gave birth to a son who received the name of Alexander, whoever his father may have been'. Apparently, Kleophis must have been the widow of the chief who was killed in the siege, according to Arrian.

[2] Arrian, *Anab.* iv, 27; *Diodorus*, xvii, 84; *Curtius*, viii, 10.

of faith by Alexander, does not seem to have been, as supposed by Diodorus, the outcome of implacable enmity felt by the king against the mercenaries. The slaughter of the contingent was rather, as represented by Arrian, the tremendous penalty for a meditated breach of faith on the part of the Indians, and, if this explanation be true, the penalty cannot be regarded as altogether undeserved. While the accession of seven thousand brave and disciplined troops would have been a welcome addition to Alexander's small army, the addition of such a force to the enemy in the plains would have been a serious impediment to his advance; and he was, I think, justified in protecting himself against such a formidable increase of the enemy's strength.

Retirement of tribes to Aornos.

Alexander next captured a town called Ora or Nora, and occupied an important place named Bazira, the inhabitants of which, with those of other towns, had retired to the stronghold of Aornos near the Indus. The desire of Alexander to capture this position, believed to be impregnable, was based upon military exigencies, and fired by a legend that the demi-god, Herakles, whom he claimed as an ancestor, had been baffled by the defences.

Description of Aornos.

The mountain was washed on one face by the Indus, which at this point was of great depth, and enclosed by rugged and precipitous rocks, forbidding approach from that side. On the other sides, as at Massaga, ravines, cliffs, and swamps presented obstacles sufficient to daunt the bravest assailant. A single path gave access to the summit, which was well supplied with water, and comprised arable land requiring the labour of a thousand men for its cultivation. The summit was crowned by a steeply scarped mass of rock, which formed a natural citadel, and, doubtless, was further protected by art.[1]

[1] Arrian, *Anab* iv, 28; *Diodorus*, xviii, 85; *Curtius*, viii, 11. Different people will necessarily form different notions of the circuit of a mountain mass, as they include or exclude subsidiary ranges; but the estimate of Diodorus that the circuit was 100 *stadia*, or 11½ miles probably is nearer the truth than Arrian's estimate of 200 *stadia*. On the other hand Arrian guesses the minimum elevation as being 11 *stadia*, or nearly 6,700 feet, which is a more reasonable figure than the 16 *stadia* of Diodorus. See Appendix D.

Before undertaking the siege of this formidable stronghold, Alexander, with his habitual foresight, secured his rear by placing garrisons in the towns of Ora, Massaga, Bazira, and Orobatis, in the hills of Suwāt and Bunēr. Preliminary operations.

He further isolated the fortress by personally marching down into the plains, probably through the Shāhkōt Pass,[1] and receiving the submission of the important city of Peukelaōtis (Chārsadda), and the surrounding territory, now known as the Yusufzī country. During this operation he was assisted by two local chiefs. He then made his way somehow to Embolima, a small town on the Indus, at the foot of Aornos, and there established a dépôt under the command of Krateros. In case the assault should fail, and the siege be converted into a blockade, this dépôt was intended to serve as a base for protracted operations should such prove to be necessary.

Having thus deliberately made his dispositions for the siege, Alexander spent two days in careful personal reconnaissance of the position with the aid of a small force, chiefly consisting of light-armed troops. Assisted by local guides, whose services were secured by liberal reward, Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, secured a valuable foothold on the eastern spur of the mountain, where he entrenched his men. An attempt made by the king to support him having been frustrated, this failure led to a vigorous attack by the Indians on Ptolemy's entrenchments, which was repulsed after a hard fight. Reconnaissance.

A second effort made by Alexander to effect a junction with his lieutenant, although stoutly opposed by the besieged, was successful; and the Macedonians were now in secure possession of the vantage-ground from which an assault on the natural citadel could be delivered. Construction of approach.

The task before the assailants was a formidable one, for the crowning mass of rock did not, like most eminences,

[1] The ancient route, as followed by Hiuen Tsang, 'est celle qui montait de Po-lou-cha au Svât par la passe de Shahkote, l'Hatthi-lâr, ou "défilé des éléphants" des indigènes actuels, et le col le plus important de ces montagnes, avant qu'en 1895 les Anglais n'eussent choisi le Malakand pour y faire passer leur route stratégique du Chitrâl' (Foucher, op cit., p. 40).

slope gradually to the summit, but rose abruptly in the form of a steep cone. Examination of the ground showed that a direct attack was impossible until some of the surrounding ravines should be filled up. Plenty of timber being available in the adjoining forests, Alexander resolved to use this material to form a pathway. He himself threw the first trunk into the ravine, and his act was greeted with a loud cheer signifying the keenness of the troops, who could not shrink from any labour, however severe, to which their king was the first to put his hand.

Evacuation by garrison.

Within the brief space of four days Alexander succeeded in gaining possession of a small hill on a level with the rock, and in thus securing a dominant position. The success of this operation convinced the garrison that the capture of the citadel was merely a question of time, and negotiations for capitulation on terms were begun.

The besieged, being more anxious to gain time for escape than to conclude a treaty, evacuated the rock during the night, and attempted to slip away unobserved in the darkness. But the unsleeping vigilance of Alexander detected the movement, and partially defeated their plans. Placing himself at the head of 700 picked men, he clambered up the cliff the moment the garrison began to retire and slew many.

Macedonian garrison posted.

In this way the virgin fortress, which even Herakles had failed to win, became the prize of Alexander. The king, justly proud of his success, offered sacrifice and worship to the gods, dedicated altars to Athēnē and Nikē, and built a fort for the accommodation of the garrison which he quartered on the mountain. The command of this important post was entrusted to Sisikottos (Sasigupta), a Hindu, who long before had deserted from the Indian contingent attached to the army of Bessus, the rebel satrap of Bactria, and had since proved himself a faithful officer in the Macedonian service.

Advance to Indus.

Alexander then proceeded to complete the subjugation of the Assakenians by another raid into their country, and occupied a town named Dyrta, which probably lay to the

north of Aornos. This town and the surrounding district were abandoned by the inhabitants, who had crossed the Indus, and taken refuge in the Abhisāra country, in the hills between the Hydaspes (Jihlam) and Akesinēs (Chināb) rivers.[1] He then slowly forced his way through the forests down to the bridge-head at Ohind. Although the direct distance could not be great, the work of clearing a road passable for an army was so arduous that fifteen or sixteen marches were required to reach Hephaestion's camp.[2]

Opinions have differed concerning the location of the bridge over the Indus, and most writers have been inclined to place it at Attock (Atak), where the river is narrowest. But the recent investigations of M. Foucher have clearly established the fact that the bridge, probably constructed of boats, must have been at Ohind or Und, sixteen miles above Attock. Having arrived at the bridge-head, Alexander sacrificed to the gods on a magnificent scale, and gave his army thirty days of much needed rest, amusing them with games and gymnastic contests.[3]

Bridge at Ohind.

January, 326 B.C.

February, 326 B.C.

[1] Various attempts to identify Dyrta have been made without success. The position of Abhisāra, or 'the kingdom of Abisares', has been correctly defined for the first time by Dr. Stein, who writes that 'Dārvābhisāra [i. e. Dārva and Abhisāra] comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills lying between the Vitastā (Jihlam or Hydaspes) and the Candrabhāgā (Chināb or Akesines) . . . The hill-state of Rājapurī (Rajaurī) was included in Dārvābhisāra . . . One passage would restrict the application of the term to the lower hills'. The small chieftainship of Rajaurī and Bhimbhar, the ancient Abhisāra, is now included within the limits of the Kashmīr State, as defined in recent times. Abhisāra used to be erroneously identified with the Hazāra District, which really corresponds with Urasā, or the kingdom of Arsakes (Stein, *Rājataraṅginī*, transl., Bk. i, 180; v, 217; and McCrindle, op. cit., p. 375). The line of march from Aornos is not known.

[2] Curtius (viii, 12) is the authority for the fifteen or sixteen marches. His words are: 'Having left this pass [? Ambelā], he arrived after the sixteenth encampment at the river Indus'.

[3] *Arrian*, v, 3; *Diodorus*, xvii, 86. The ancient road to India from the Kābul river valley followed a circuitous route through Purushapura (Peshāwar), Pushkalāvatī (Peukelaotis), Hoti Mardān, and Shāhbāzgarhi (Po-lu-sha of the Chinese), to Und or Ohind. The direct route to Attock has been made practicable only in modern times. Und is the pronunciation of the inhabitants of the town which is called Ohind by the people of Peshāwar and Mardān; the Sanskrit name was Udabhāṇḍapura (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 52; Stein, *Rājat*, transl. ii, 336; Foucher, op. cit., p. 46, with maps). Major Raverty considers Uhand to be the correct spelling, and this form is the nearest to the Sanskrit.

Embassy from Taxila.

At Ohind Alexander was met by an embassy from Āmbhi (Omphis),[1] who had recently succeeded to the throne of Taxila, the great city three marches beyond the Indus. The lately deceased king had met the invader in the previous year at Nikaia and tendered the submission of his kingdom. This tender was now renewed on behalf of his son by the embassy, and was supported by a contingent of 700 horse and the gift of valuable supplies comprising thirty elephants, 3,000 fat oxen, more than 10,000 sheep, and 200 talents of silver.

The ready submission of the rulers of Taxila is explained by the fact that they desired Alexander's help against their enemies in the neighbouring states. Taxila was then at war both with the hill kingdom of Abhisāra, and with the more powerful state governed by the king whom the Greeks called Pōros, which corresponded with the modern districts of Jihlam, Gujarāt, and Shāhpur.[2]

February or March, 326 B.C. Passage of Indus.

Spring had now begun, and the omens being favourable, the refreshed army began the passage of the river one morning at daybreak; and, with the help of the Taxilan king, safely effected entrance on the soil of India, which no European traveller or invader had ever before trodden.[3]

Curious incident.

A curious incident marked the last day's march to Taxila. When four or five miles from the city Alexander was startled to see a complete army in order of battle advancing to meet

[1] The restoration of the name Āmbhi is due to M. Sylvain Lévi (*Journal Asiatique* for 1890, p. 231).

[2] *Curtius*, viii, 12. The country of Pōros lay between the Hydaspes (Jihlam) and the Akesinēs (Chināb), and contained 300 towns (*Strabo*, xv, 29). The Indian form of the name or title transcribed as Pōros by the Greeks is not known. The guess that it might be *Paurava* is not convincing.

[3] The chronology is determined by *Strabo*, xv, 17, who states, on the authority of Aristoboulos, the companion and historian of Alexander, that 'they remained in the mountainous country belonging to the Aspasioi and to Assakanos during the winter In the beginning of spring they descended to the plains and the great city of Taxila, whence they went on to the Hydaspes and the land of Poros. During the winter they saw no rain, but only snow. Rain fell for the first time while they were at Taxila'. The passage of the Indus must therefore be dated in February or March, 326 B.C. Mr. Pearson notes that 'when Burnes was with Ranjit Singh at Lahore, the festival of spring was celebrated with lavish magnificence on the 6th of February' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 257). The rain at Taxila must have been due to a passing storm, because the regular rainy season does not begin before June.

him. He supposed that treacherous opposition was about to be offered, and had begun to make arrangements to attack the Indians, when Āmbhi galloped forward with a few attendants and explained that the display of force was intended as an honour, and that his entire army was at Alexander's disposal. When the misunderstanding had been removed the Macedonian force continued its advance and was entertained at the city with royal magnificence.

Taxila. Taxila, now represented by miles of ruins to the north-west of Rāwalpindī, and the south-east of Hasan Abdāl, was then one of the greatest cities of the east, and was famous as the principal seat of Hindu learning in Northern India, to which scholars of all classes flocked for instruction, especially in the medical sciences.[1]

Submission of Āmbhi. Āmbhi recognized Alexander as his lord, and received from him investiture as lawful successor of his deceased father the king of Taxila. In return for the favour shown to him by the invader, he provided the Macedonian army with liberal supplies, and presented Alexander with eighty talents of coined silver[2] and golden crowns for himself and

[1] The name is given as Taxila (Τάξιλα) by the Greek and Roman authors, which is a close transcription of the Pāli or Prākrit Takkasilā. The Sanskrit form is Takshaśila. The ruins at Shāhdhēri, eight miles south-east of Hasan Abdāl, and in the surrounding villages, have been roughly surveyed and described by Cunningham (*Reports*, ii, 111 51), but deserve more systematic and detailed examination. So far as known, the remains seem to be Buddhist, but the vestiges of many pre-Buddhist edifices probably still remain. The Buddhist establishments were in a state of decay when the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, visited them in the seventh century A. D. (*Beal*, ii, 136-43; *Watters*, i, 240), and the kingdom was then tributary to Kashmīr. The city was still an important place about 100 B. C., when it was the capital of a satrap named Liaka. The Jātaka stories are full of references to the fame of Taxila as a university town, e. g. vol. ii (Rouse's transl), 2, 32, 59, &c. The Susīma Jātaka places it in the kingdom of Gandhāra, i. e. of Peukelaotis and Peshāwar. Most of the Jātakas probably are anterior to Alexander's time.

[2] This 'coined' or 'stamped' silver (*signatum argentum*) probably consisted of the little flat ingots known to numismatists as 'punch-marked' pieces, because they are not struck with a die, but are marked irregularly by small punches of various patterns applied at different times. For accounts of this curious coinage, which was used throughout India, see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, §§ 4-6; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 54-60, pl. I and II, 1, 2; *Catal. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I, pp. 131-42. The early *copper* coinage of Taxila is described in the works cited.

all his friends. Alexander, not to be outdone in generosity, returned the presents, and bestowed on the donor a thousand talents from the spoils of war, along with many banqueting vessels of gold and silver, a vast quantity of Persian drapery, and thirty chargers caparisoned as when ridden by himself. This lavish generosity, although displeasing to Alexander's Macedonian officers, probably was prompted more by policy than by sentiment. It purchased a contingent of 5,000 men, and secured the fidelity of a most useful ally (*Q. Curtius*, viii, 12; *Diodorus*, xvii, 86; *Arrian*, v, 8).

Rāja of Abhisāra and Pōros.

While Alexander was at Taxila, the hill chieftain of Abhisāra, who really intended to join Pōros in repelling the invader (*Diodorus*, xvii, 87), sent envoys who professed to surrender to Alexander all that their master possessed. This mission was favourably received, and Alexander hoped that Pōros would display complaisance equal to that of his ally. But a summons sent requiring him to do homage and pay tribute was met with the proud answer that he would indeed come to his frontier to meet the invader, but at the head of an army ready for battle.

Advance to Hydaspes. April, 326 B.C.

Having stayed in his comfortable quarters at Taxila for sufficient time to rest his army (*Diodorus*, xvii, 87), Alexander led his forces, now strengthened by the Taxilan contingent and a small number of elephants, eastward to meet Pōros, who was known to be awaiting him on the further bank of the Hydaspes (Jihlam) river. The march from Taxila to Jihlam on the Hydaspes, in a south-easterly direction, a distance of about a hundred or a hundred and ten miles, according to the route followed, brought the army over difficult ground and probably occupied a fortnight.[1] The hot season was at its height, but to Alexander all seasons were equally fit for campaigning, and he led his soldiers on and on from conquest to conquest, regardless of

[1] Alexander must have marched either by the northern road through the Bakrāla Pass, past Rohtās, to Jihlam; or by the road twenty miles further south through the Bunhār Pass to Jalālpur. Possibly he may have utilized both roads. After his arrival at the river bank he was free to choose his battle-ground (Pearson, 'Alexander, Porus and the Panjab,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 253, with map).

the snows of the mountains and the scorching heat of the plains. He arrived at Jihlam early in May, and found the river already flooded by the melting of the snow in the hills. The boats which had served for the passage of the Indus, having been cut into sections and transported on wagons to be rebuilt on the bank of the Hydaspes, were again utilized for the crossing of that river (*Arrian*, v, 8). May, 326 B.C.

In spite of the most elaborate preparations, the problem of the passage of the Hydaspes in the face of a superior force could not be solved without minute local knowledge; and Alexander was compelled to defer his decision as to the best feasible solution until he should have acquired the necessary acquaintance with all the local conditions. On his arrival, he found the army of Pōros, fifty thousand strong, drawn up on the opposite bank. It was obvious that the horses of the cavalry, the arm upon which the Macedonian commander placed his reliance, could not be induced to clamber up the bank of a flooded river in the face of a host of elephants, and that some device for evading this difficulty must be sought. Preparation for passage of river.

Alexander, therefore, resolved, in the words of Arrian, to 'steal a passage'. The easiest plan would have been for the invader to wait patiently in his lines until October or November, when the waters would subside and the river might become fordable. Although such dilatory tactics did not commend themselves to the impetuous spirit of Alexander, he endeavoured to lull the vigilance of the enemy by the public announcement that he intended to await the change of season, and gave a colour of truth to the declaration by employing his troops in foraging expeditions and the collection of a great store of provisions. At the same time his flotilla of boats continually moved up and down the river, and frequent reconnaissances were made in search of a ford. 'All this,' as Arrian observes, 'prevented Pōros from resting and concentrating his preparations at any one point selected in preference to any other as the best for defending the passage' (v, 9). Rafts, galleys, and smaller boats were secretly prepared and hidden away among the woods and islands in the upper reaches of the river. These Provision of boats.

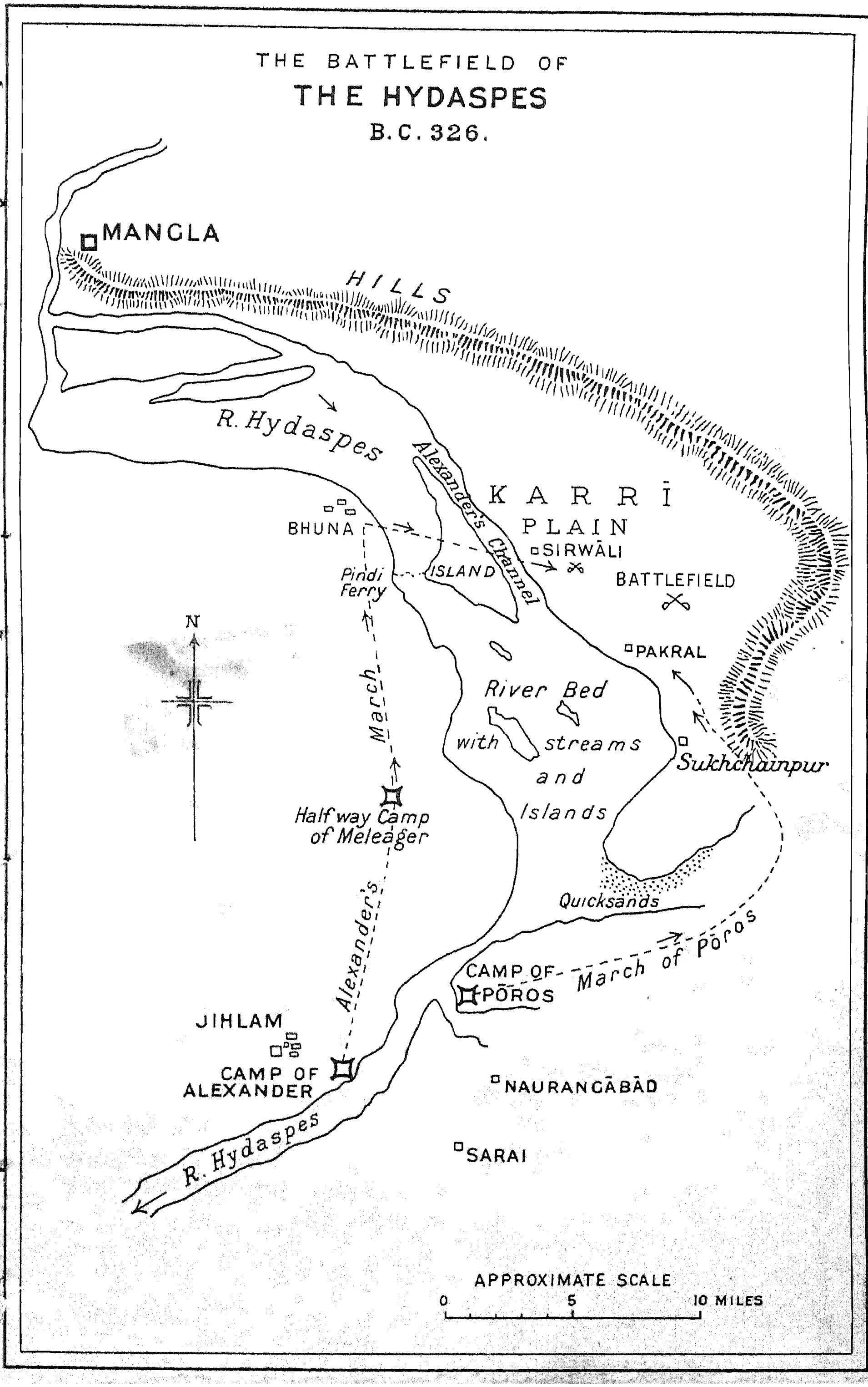
preliminaries occupied six or seven weeks, during which time the rains had broken, and the violence of the flood had increased. Careful study of the ground had convinced Alexander that the best chance of crossing in safety was to be found near a sharp bend in the river about sixteen miles marching distance above his camp, at a point where his embarkation would be concealed by a bluff and an island covered with forest. Having arrived at this decision, Alexander acted upon it, not only, as Arrian justly remarks, with 'marvellous audacity', but with consummate prudence and precaution.

Beginning of July, 326 B.C. Reserve force.

He left Krateros with a considerable force, including the Taxilan contingent of 5,000 men, to guard the camp near Jihlam, and supplied him with precise instructions as to the manner in which he should use this reserve force to support the main attack. Half-way between the standing camp and the chosen crossing-place three generals were stationed with the mercenary cavalry and infantry, and had orders to cross the river as soon as they should perceive the Indians to be fairly engaged in action. All sections of the army were kept in touch by a chain of sentries posted along the bank.

Night march.

When all these precautionary arrangements had been completed, Alexander in person took command of a picked force of about 11,000 or 12,000 men, including the foot guards, hypaspist infantry, mounted archers, and 5,000 cavalry of various kinds, with which to effect the passage. In order to escape observation, he marched by night at some distance from the bank, and his movements were further concealed by a violent storm of rain and thunder which broke during the march. He arrived unperceived at the appointed place and found the fleet of galleys, boats, and rafts in readiness. The enemy had no suspicion of what was happening until the fleet appeared in the open river beyond the wooded island, and Alexander disembarked his force at daybreak without opposition. But when he had landed, he was disappointed to find that yet another deep channel lay in front, which must be crossed. With much difficulty a ford was found, and the infantry struggled through breast deep in the stream, while the horses swam with only their


THE BATTLEFIELD OF
THE HYDASPES
B.C. 326.
MANGLA
HILLS
R. Hydaspes
Alexander's Channel
KARRĪ
PLAIN
BHUNA
SIRWĀLI
Pindi Ferry
ISLAND
BATTLEFIELD
N
PAKRAL
River Bed
with streams
and
Islands
Sukhchainpur
Alexander's March
Halfway Camp of Meleager
Quicksands
March of Poros
CAMP OF PŌROS
JIHLAM
CAMP OF ALEXANDER
NAURANGĀBĀD
R. Hydaspes
SARAI
APPROXIMATE SCALE
0
5
10 MILES

heads above water. The sole practicable road from the camp of Pōros involved a wide détour, which rendered prompt opposition impossible, and Alexander was able to deploy his dripping troops on the mainland before any attempt could be made to stop him.

The battle-field.

Then, when it was too late, the son of the Indian king came hurrying up with 2,000 horse and 120 chariots. This inadequate force was speedily routed with the loss of 400 killed, and of all the chariots. Fugitives carried the disastrous news to the camp of Pōros, who moved out with the bulk of his army to give battle, leaving a guard to protect his baggage against Krateros, who lay in wait on the opposite bank. The Indian army deployed on the only ground available, the plain now known as Karrī, girdled on the north and east by low hills, and about five miles in width at its broadest part. The surface was a firm sandy soil well adapted for military movements even in the rainy season.

The Indian army.

A stately force it was with which the Indian monarch moved forth to defend his country against the audacious invader from the west. Two hundred huge elephants, stationed at intervals of not less than a hundred feet from one another, and probably in eight ranks, formed the front in the centre.[1] The chief reliance of Pōros was on these monsters who would, it was calculated, terrify the foreign soldiers and render the dreaded cavalry unmanageable. Behind the elephants stood a compact force of 30,000 infantry with projections on the wings, and files of the infantry were pushed forward in the intervals between the elephants, so that the Indian army presented 'very much the appearance of a city—the elephants as they stood resembling its towers, and the men-at-arms placed between them resembling the lines of wall intervening between tower and tower' (*Diodorus*, xvii, 87). Both flanks were protected by cavalry with chariots in front. The cavalry numbered

[1] See plan of the battle. The number of ranks is determined by the limitation of space. The plan shows exactly 200 elephants. I am indebted for it to my son, Capt. A. A. Smith, 58th Vaughan's Rifles, who has plotted the details to scale.

4,000 and the chariots 300. Each chariot was drawn by four horses, and carried six men, of whom two were archers, stationed one on each side of the vehicle, two were shield-bearers, and two were charioteers, who in the stress of battle were wont to drop the reins and ply the enemy with darts (*Q. Curtius*, viii, 14).

Indian equipment.

The infantry were all armed with a broad and heavy two-handed sword, and a long buckler of undressed ox-hide. In addition to these arms each man carried either javelins or a bow. The bow is described as being

'made of equal length with the man who bears it. This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot—neither shield nor breastplate, nor any stronger defence, if such there be' (Arrian, *Indika*, ch. xvi).

But great as was the power of the Indian bow, it was too cumbrous to meet the attack of the mobile Macedonian cavalry. The slippery state of the surface prevented the archers from resting the end of their weapons firmly on the ground, and Alexander's horse were able to deliver their charge before the bowmen had completed their adjustments (*Q. Curtius*, viii, 14). The Indian horsemen, each of whom carried two javelins and a buckler, were far inferior in personal strength and military discipline to Alexander's men (Arrian, *Anab.* v, 17).

With such force and such equipment Pōros awaited the attack of the greatest military genius whom the world has seen.

Alexander's tactics

Alexander clearly perceived that his small force would have no chance of success in a direct attack upon the enemy's centre, and resolved to rely on the effect of a vigorous cavalry charge against the Indian left wing. The generals in command of the 6,000 infantry at his disposal were ordered to play a waiting game, and to take no part in the action until they should see the Indian foot and horse

thrown into confusion by the charge of cavalry under Alexander's personal command.

He opened the action by sending his mounted archers, a thousand strong, against the left wing of the Indian army, which must have extended close to the bank of the river. The archers discharged a storm of arrows and made furious charges. They were quickly followed by the Guards led by Alexander himself. The Indian cavalry on the right wing hurried round by the rear to support their hard-pressed comrades on the left. But meantime two regiments of horse commanded by Koinos, which had been detached by Alexander for the purpose, swept past the front of the immobile host of Pōros, galloped round its right wing, and threatened the rear of the Indian cavalry and chariots. While the Indian squadrons were endeavouring to effect a partial change of front to meet the impending onset from the rear, they necessarily fell into a certain amount of confusion. Alexander, seeing his opportunity, seized the very moment when the enemy's horse were changing front, and pressed home his attack. The Indian ranks on both wings broke and 'fled for shelter to the elephants as to a friendly wall'. Thus ended the first act in the drama. First stage of battle.

The elephant drivers tried to retrieve the disaster by urging their mounts against the Macedonian horse, but the phalanx, which had now advanced, began to take its deferred share in the conflict. The Macedonian soldiers hurled showers of darts at the elephants and their riders. The maddened beasts charged and crushed through the closed ranks of the phalanx, impenetrable to merely human attack. The Indian horsemen seized the critical moment, and, seeking to revenge the defeat which they had suffered in the first stage of the action, wheeled round and attacked Alexander's cavalry. But the Indians were not equal to the task which they attempted, and being repulsed, were again cooped up among the elephants. The second act of the drama was now finished. Second stage of battle.

The third and last began with a charge by the Macedonian massed cavalry which crashed into the broken Indian ranks Third stage of battle.

and effected an awful carnage. The battle ended at the eighth hour of the day (Plutarch, *Life*, ch. 60) in a scene of murderous confusion, which is best described in the words of Arrian, whose account is based on that of men who shared in the fight.

Rout of Indians.

'The elephants,' he writes, 'being now cooped up within a narrow space, did no less damage to their friends than to their foes, trampling them under their feet as they wheeled and pushed about. There resulted in consequence a great slaughter of the cavalry, cooped up as it was within a narrow space around the elephants. Many of the elephant drivers, moreover, had been shot down, and of the elephants themselves some had been wounded, while others, both from exhaustion and the loss of their mahouts, no longer kept to their own side of the conflict, but, as if driven frantic by their sufferings, attacked friend and foe quite indiscriminately, pushed them, trampled them down, and killed them in all manner of ways. But the Macedonians, who had a wide and open field, and could therefore operate as they thought best, gave way when the elephants charged, and when they retreated followed at their heels and plied them with darts; whereas the Indians, who were in the midst of the animals, suffered far more from the effects of their rage.

'When the elephants, however, became quite exhausted, and their attacks were no longer made with vigour, they fell back like ships backing water, and merely kept trumpeting as they retreated with their faces to the enemy. Then did Alexander surround with his cavalry the whole of the enemy's line, and signal that the infantry, with their shields linked together so as to give the utmost compactness to their ranks, should advance in phalanx. By this means the cavalry of the Indians was, with a few exceptions, cut to pieces in the action. Such also was the fate of the infantry, since the Macedonians were now pressing them from every side.

'Upon this all turned to flight wherever a gap could be found in the cordon of Alexander's cavalry.'

Capture of Pōros.

Meanwhile, Krateros and the other officers left on the opposite bank of the river had crossed over, and with their fresh troops fell upon the fugitives, and wrought terrible slaughter. The Indian army was annihilated; all the elephants being either killed or captured, and the chariots

destroyed. Three thousand horsemen, and not less than twelve thousand foot soldiers were killed, and 9,000 taken prisoners. The Macedonian loss, according to the highest estimate, did not exceed a thousand.

Pōros himself, a magnificent giant, six and a half feet in height, fought to the last, but at last succumbed to nine wounds, and was taken prisoner in a fainting condition.

Alexander had the magnanimity to respect his gallant adversary, and willingly responded to his proud request to be 'treated as a king[1]'. The victor not only confirmed the vanquished prince in the government of his ancestral territory, but added to it other lands of still greater extent; and by this politic generosity secured for the brief period of his stay in the country a grateful and faithful friend.[2]

The victory was commemorated by the foundation of two towns; one named Nikaia, situated on the battlefield; and the other, named Boukephala, situated at the point whence Alexander had started to cross the Hydaspes. The latter was dedicated to the memory of Alexander's famous charger, which had carried him safely through so many perils, and had now at last succumbed to weariness and old age. Boukephala, by reason of its position at a ferry on the high road from the west to the Indian interior, became a place of such fame and importance as to be reckoned by Plutarch among the greatest of Alexander's foundations. It was practically identical with the modern town of Jihlam (Jhelum), and its position is more closely marked by the extensive elevated mound to the west of the existing town. Boukephala.

The position of Nikaia, which never attained fame, is less certain; but probably should be sought at the village of Nikaia.

[1] Ὅτι βασιλικῶς μοι χρῆσαι, ὦ Ἀλέξανδρε.

[2] For disputed questions concerning the passage of the river, and the date and site of the battle see App. E, F. Opinions differ concerning the exact nature of the movement of Koinos; but to me the texts seem sufficiently plain. A mobile cavalry force had no difficulty in riding across the front of an army like that of Pōros; although, of course, such a feat would be impossible if that army had possessed rifles and guns. While Arrian's lucid description of the battle has been followed in the main, some details have been taken from other writers.

Sukhchainpur to the south of the Karrī plain, the scene of the battle.[1]

Medal commemorating the battle.

An interesting numismatic memorial of the battle is the famous unique dekadrachm in the British Museum, 'showing on one side a Macedonian horsemen driving before him a retreating elephant with its two riders, and on the other side a standing figure of Alexander holding a thunderbolt, and wearing the *Persian* helmet, and with ΒΑ (='Αλεξάνδρου Βασιλέως ?) in the field ? Mr. Barclay Head shows good reason for believing that this piece was struck in India as a medal for presentation to Macedonian officers who took part in the battle.[2]

The Glausai and Pōros II.

Alexander, having performed with fitting splendour the obsequies of the slain, offered the customary sacrifices, and celebrated games, left Krateros behind with a portion of the army and orders to fortify posts, and maintain communications. The king himself, taking a force of picked troops, largely composed of cavalry, invaded the country of a nation called Glausai or Glaukanikoi, adjacent to the dominions of Pōros. Thirty-seven considerable towns and a multitude of villages, having readily submitted, were added to the extensive territory administered by Pōros. The king of the lower hills, who is called Abisares by the Greek writers, finding resistance hopeless, again tendered his submission. Another Pōros, nephew of the defeated monarch, and ruler of a tract called Gandaris, sent envoys promising allegiance to the invincible invader, and sundry independent tribes (τῶν αὐτονόμων Ἰνδῶν) followed the example of these princes.

Middle of July, 326 B.C. Passage of Akesinēs.

Alexander, moving in a direction more easterly than before, crossed the Akesinēs (Chināb) at a point not specified,

[1] Arrian (v, 20) gives the true account of the death of Boukephalos. The site of Boukephala was determined, to my satisfaction, by Abbott ('On the Sites of Nikaia and Boukephala', *J. A. S. B.*, 1852, p. 231). The mound referred to is known locally as 'Pindi', or 'the town', and yields large ancient bricks and numerous Graeco-Bactrian coins. Boukephala is mentioned in the Peutingerian Tables, by Pliny (vi, 20), and the author of the *Periplus* (ch. 47), as well as by Plutarch (*Fortune of Alexander*, Oration I, 9). Cunningham's identifications of the two towns are necessarily rejected as being based upon the theory that the passage of the river was effected at Jalālpur.

[2] *Num. Chron.*, 1906, p. 8, pl. I, 8.

but certainly near the foot of the hills. The passage of the river, although unopposed, was difficult by reason of the rapid current of the flooded stream, which was 3,000 yards (15 *stadia*) in width, and of the large and jagged rocks with which the channel was bestrewn, and on which many of the boats were wrecked.[1]

Passage of Hydraōtes.

The king, having made adequate arrangements for supplies, reinforcements, and the maintenance of communications, continued his advance eastwards, probably passing close to the ancient fortress of Siālkōt. The Hydraōtes (Rāvī) river having been crossed without difficulty, Hephaistion was sent back in order to reduce to obedience the younger Pōros, who had revolted owing to feelings of resentment at the excessive favour shown to his uncle and enemy.

The independent tribes.

Alexander selected as the adversaries worthy of his steel the more important confederacy of independent tribes which was headed by the Kathaioi, who dwelt upon the left or eastern side of the Hydraōtes, and enjoyed the highest reputation for skill in the art of war. Their neighbours, the Oxydrakai, who occupied the basin of the Hyphasis, and the Malloi, who were settled along the lower course of the Hydraōtes below Lahore, and were also famous as brave warriors, intended to join the tribal league, but had not actually done so at this time. The Kathaioi were now supported only by minor clans, their immediate neighbours, and the terrible fate which awaited the Malloi was postponed for a brief space.[2]

Pimprama and Sangala.

On the second day after the passage of the Hydraōtes, Alexander received the capitulation of a town named Pimprama, belonging to a clan called Adraïstai by Arrian; and, after a day's rest, proceeded to invest Sangala, which the

[1] These particulars given by Arrian (v, 20) clearly prove that the Akesinēs was crossed near the foot of the hills, some twenty-five or thirty miles above Wazīrābād, where Mr. McCrindle places the crossing. The Chināb has changed its course very considerably, and lower down has wandered over a bed about thirty miles in breadth (Raverty, op. cit., 343).

[2] For the correct location of the clans see the author's paper entitled 'The Position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Panjāb conquered by Alexander the Great' (*J. R. A. S.*, Oct., 1903). See the map, reprinted from that paper, with a slight alteration of the suggested position of the altars.

Kathaioi and the allied tribes had selected as their main stronghold. The tribes protected their camp, lying under the shelter of a low hill, by a triple row of wagons, and offered a determined resistance.

Meantime, the elder Pōros arrived with a reinforcement for the besiegers of five thousand troops, elephants, and a siege train; but before any breach in the city wall had been effected, the Macedonians stormed the place by escalade, and routed the allies, who lost many thousands killed. Alexander's loss in killed was less than a hundred, but twelve hundred of his men were wounded—an unusually large proportion.

Sangala was razed to the ground, as a punishment for the stout resistance of its defenders.[1]

Arrival at the Hyphasis.

Yet another river, the Hyphasis (Biās), lay in the path of the royal adventurer, who advanced to its bank, and prepared to cross, being determined to subdue the nations beyond. These were reputed to be clans of brave agriculturists, enjoying an admirable system of aristocratic government, and occupying a fertile territory well supplied with elephants of superior size and courage.

Alexander's address.

Alexander, having noticed that his troops no longer followed him with their wonted alacrity, and were indisposed to proceed to more distant adventures, sought to rouse their enthusiasm by an eloquent address, in which he recited the glories of their wondrous conquests from the Hellespont to the Hyphasis, and promised them the dominion and riches of all Asia. But his glowing words fell on unwilling ears, and were received with painful silence, which remained unbroken for a long time.

[1] Much nonsense has been written about the site of Sangala (Σάγγαλα), which was quite distinct from the Sākala of Hindu writers and of Hiuen Tsang. The assumption that the two towns were identical led Cunningham to identify Alexander's Sangala with a petty mound called 'Sangala Tibba' in the Jhang District. The late Mr. C. J. Rodgers conclusively proved this identification to be erroneous (*Report on Sangala Tibba*, News Press, Lahore, 1896; *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 81). The position of Sangala, which was razed to the ground, cannot be determined with precision, but it was in the Gurdāspur District. Sākala, the capital of Mihirakula, is represented by the modern Siālkōt, N. lat. 32° 29′, E. long. 74° 36′ (Fleet, 'Sakala,' *Actes du xiv^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, tome I).

At last Koinos, the trusted cavalry general, who had led the charge in the battle with Pōros, summoned up courage to reply, and argued the expediency of fixing some limit to the toils and dangers of the army. He urged his sovereign to remember that out of the Greeks and Macedonians who had crossed the Hellespont eight years earlier, some had been invalided home, some were unwilling exiles in newly founded cities, some were disabled by wounds, and others, the most numerous, had perished by the sword or disease. Reply of Koinos.

Few indeed were those left to follow the standards; and they were weary wretches, shattered in health, ragged, ill-armed, and despondent. He concluded his oration by saying:— September, 326 B.C.

'Moderation in the midst of success, O king! is the noblest of virtues, for, although, being at the head of so brave an army, you have naught to dread from mortal foes, yet the visitations of the Deity cannot be foreseen or guarded against by man'.[1]

The words of Koinos were greeted with loud applause, which left no doubt about the temper of the men. Alexander, deeply mortified, and unwilling to yield, retired within his tent; but emerged on the third day, convinced that further advance was impracticable. The soothsayers judiciously discovered that the omens were unfavourable for the passage of the river, and Alexander, with a heavy heart, gave orders for retreat, in September, 326 B.C. Orders for retreat.

To mark the furthest point of his advance, he erected twelve huge altars, built of squared stone, and each fifty cubits in height, dedicated to the twelve great gods. Although the army had not passed the river, these massive memorials were erected on the farther bank, where they long remained to excite the wonder and veneration of both natives and foreigners.[2] Traces of them may still exist, and should be The altars.

[1] The address of Koinos, which is given in full by Arrian, seems to me to be in substance a genuine report of a real speech, and not merely an appropriate invention of the historian.

[2] 'Ad Hypasin . . . qui fuit Alexandri itinerum terminus, exsuperato tamen amne, arisque in adversa ripa dicatis' (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, Bk. vi, ch. 17).

looked for along the oldest bed of the Biās, near the hills, in one or other of the three districts—Gurdāspur, Hoshyārpur, or Kāngra—where nobody, except Vigne[1], has yet sought them.

The judicious Arrian simply records that:—

'Alexander divided the army into brigades, which he ordered to prepare twelve altars equal in height to the loftiest military towers, while exceeding them in breadth; to serve both as thank-offerings to the gods who had led him so far on the path of conquest, and as a memorial of his achievements. When the altars had been constructed, he offered sacrifice upon them with the customary rites, and celebrated gymnastic and equestrian games.'

Worship at altars by Chandragupta.

The structures thus solemnly dedicated were well designed to serve their double purpose; and constituted a dignified and worthy monument of the piety and labours of the world's greatest general. Their significance was fully appreciated by the Indian powers which had been compelled to bend before the Macedonian storm. We are told that Chandragupta Maurya, the first emperor of India, who succeeded to the lordship of Alexander's conquests, and his successors for centuries afterwards, continued to venerate the altars, and were in the habit of crossing the river to offer sacrifice upon them.[2]

Travellers' tales.

But, if Curtius and Diodorus are to be believed, the noble simplicity of the monumental altars was marred by a ridiculous addition designed to gratify the king's childish vanity. The tale is given in its fullest form by Diodorus, who gravely informs us that after the completion of the

[1] Vigne, *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghazni, Kabul and Afghanistan* (1843), p. 11.

[2] Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλέα τιμῶν καὶ πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀνδρόκοττος, ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι προῆγον ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων. 'Thus Alexander, honouring Hercules, and Androkottos [*scil.* Chandragupta] again honouring Alexander, got themselves honoured on the same grounds' (Plutarch, *cir.* 90 A. D., 'How One can Praise oneself without exciting Envy,' § 10, in *Morals*, ed. Teubner, and Shilleto's trans.). The same author, in his *Life of Alexander*, ch. lxii, states that 'he also erected altars for the gods which the kings of the Praisiai [*scil.* Magadha] even to the present day hold in veneration, crossing the river to offer sacrifices upon them in the Hellenic fashion'.

altars, Alexander caused an encampment to be made thrice the size of that actually occupied by his army, encircled by a trench fifty feet wide and forty feet deep, as well as by a rampart of extraordinary dimensions. 'He further,' the story continues, 'ordered quarters to be constructed as for foot-soldiers, each containing two beds four cubits in length for each man; and besides this, two stalls of twice the ordinary size for each horseman. Whatever else was to be left behind was directed to be likewise proportionately increased in size.' We are asked to believe that these silly proceedings were intended to convince the country people that the invaders had been men of more than ordinary strength and stature.[1]

It is incredible that Alexander could have been guilty of such senseless folly, and the legend may be rejected without hesitation as being probably based on distorted versions of tales told by travellers, who had seen the altars.

APPENDIX D

Aornos and Embolima

Three sites proposed.

Three solutions have been proposed for the 'much vexed question' as to the site of Aornos. General Court and the Rev. Mr. Loewenthal suggested the castle or fort known as that of Rāja Hodi, opposite Attock. But that suggestion is open to objections of all sorts, and has now no defenders. Cunningham preferred to identify the celebrated mountain with the fortress of Rānigat, sixteen miles north of Ohind, although he confessed that the identification was 'incomplete', and that he was 'not perfectly satisfied with it'.[2] Cunningham's suggestion may be briefly dismissed with the remarks that the hill at Rānigat is much too small and low to answer to the descriptions of the ancient writers, and that it is distant from the Indus.

Mahāban.

The third site proposed, the Mahāban mountain, situated about seventy miles ENE. from Peshāwar in approximately N. lat. 34° 20′, was vigorously advocated by General Abbott, whose conclusions were so strongly supported by more recent researches that the 'much vexed question' seemed to be defi-

[1] *Diodorus*, xvii, 95; *Curtius*, ix, 3.

[2] Cunningham, *Reports*, ii, 95–110.

nitely settled when the first edition of this book was published. But Dr. Stein's survey of the summit of Mahāban at the end of October, 1904, has reopened the question.

The fanaticism of the tribes inhabiting the mountain and its neighbourhood is so great that the locality had never been completely surveyed—in fact, so far as can be ascertained, no European had ascended the summit of the mountain since the days of Alexander, until Dr. Stein accomplished the feat.[1] The fullest description recorded by the older writers is that given by Abbott, as follows:—

Description by Abbott.

'The long-sought rock, Aornos, towers high above all the neighbouring mountains, its foot washed by the broad flood of the Indus . . . its inexhaustible pastures . . . its forests and fastnesses, the refuge of all the outlaws for hundreds of miles around; its summit, furrowed by a hundred ploughs; its skirts, by perhaps eight hundred more; a mountain almost without parallel in the world, and too faithfully described to be mistaken. There was formerly a fort upon the crest of the mountain, but its very name is lost, although traces of the wall remain, agreeing exactly, if my informant correctly describes them, with the site of Aornos. . . . Upon the east of Maha Bunn (a name embracing a whole district comprised by the trunk and ramifications of this mountain, and harbouring some ten thousand matchlock men) Nadir Shah, the Alexander of Persia, encamped his army, as the only means of reducing to order the lawless Affacini.[2] The mountain is a long isolated ridge, not less, I think, in length at summit than five miles. The height is upwards of 7,000 feet [7,320 in India Office map] above the sea's level, or 5,000 above that of the Indus. The length at base must be upwards of twelve miles. At the very summit is a small square Tumulus, apparently from 50 to 100 feet high, and scarped with precipices. . . . The Maha Bunn agrees to the minutest particular with the description of Aornos, standing on the right bank of the Indus, feathered with forests, watered by perennial springs. Its summit, a plateau capable of holding the camp of a Persian army, and of employing a hundred ploughs; its forests and fastnesses the refuge of the Affacini of the plains and of fugitives from Abisara and Taxila; its height, gigantic and pre-eminent; its position sufficiently near to annoy Alexander's columns; its inhabitants to this day unconquered, paying neither allegiance nor tribute to any man[3].'

Observations by Colonel Deane.

The observations of Colonel Deane, whose official position has afforded exceptional opportunities for the collection of accurate information, supplemented the description of General Abbott,

[1] The slopes of Mahāban had been visited more than once by European troops. In or about 1858, a column of the Panjāb Frontier Force ascended the southern side and blew up 'several towers in Shāhkōṭ'. In December, 1863, Malka, the Wahābī stronghold on the western slopes, was destroyed. Malka stood some distance below the highest peak (*Pioneer Mail*, Nov. 9th, 1904; Roberts, *Forty-one Years in India*, vol. ii, pp. 20-2).

[2] This name is used only by Abbott.

[3] Abbott, 'The Battle Field of Alexander and Porus,' *J. A. S. B.*, 1848, pp. 627, 628. The same author's 'valuable and elaborate article', as Grote justly calls it, entitled 'Gradus ad Aornon', in *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, p. 309, may also be consulted with advantage.

and proved that the remains of a fort still exist on the mountain. The identification of Ptolemy's Asigramma with the modern Asgram still seems to be certain, and is admitted by Dr. Stein to be 'highly probable'.

'The line of the Indus through the Peshawar District has never been thoroughly examined. Beginning at Asgram, there are extensive ruins a little way above where the Indus leaves the hills; there are more on a low hill on the bank of the Indus near Gullai, known as Imran; many more buried near Jalbai; and again, others near Jehangira and Alladher. None of these have ever been systematically explored.

The following brief note has reference to Aornos, which was situated either in Udyāna or Gandhāra.

On Mahaban, at the point known as Shahkot, are the very distinct remains of a large fort, the foundations of which, 360 yards by 180 yards, with twelve bastions on the north and south faces, five bastions on the east face (outside which was a ditch some thirty feet wide), and four bastions on the west face, can still be traced. The road to the fort winds up the southern face of the hill, and below it on the south is a plateau about a mile long by 600 yards wide. On the north face is a second gate, with a steep path leading to springs a little way below. Below the south-west corner is a large tank protected by three towers. Inside are remains of two temples and a tank about sixty paces in circumference. The fort is situated on a vast rock, and is reported as exceedingly difficult of access.

Close to Panjtar, at the foot of Mahaban, is a group of several old towns, from which I have obtained many inscriptions. Further down, towards where the Indus debouches into the plain, are extensive ruins, to which my attention was first directed by obtaining an inscription from them. These ruins are known as Asgram, already mentioned. The Pathans give this as the name of the ruins, stating that tradition holds them to be of the same period as Bēgram and Naugram (Ranigat). Taking Ptolemy's map and McCrindle as a guide, we find a hitherto unidentified place, Asigramma, close to the bank of the river, bearing the same relative position to Aornos and Pentigramma, as shown on the map, as Asgram bears to Mahaban and Panjtar.[1] Aornos was above Asigramma; and if the identification of Asgram with Asigramma be accepted, the claims of both Hodi Raja and Ranigat are disposed of, and there does not remain much, if any, doubt as to Aornos having been on Mahaban as described above. Another very strong position on Mahaban is a spur running to the Indus known as Mount Banj. A fort also exists here, and is very difficult of access.'[2]

The substantial accuracy of the information supplied to Colonel Deane was vouched for by Dr. Stein, who approached the mountain in 1898, and made inquiries. His informant, a Malik or headman, was well acquainted with the ruins of Shāhkōṭ, which he described as situated on a rocky spur near the highest point of Mahāban, and to the north-east of it. The Malik's description Dr. Stein's notes.

[1] Ptolemy (bk. vii, ch 57) gives a list of towns on the Indus, of which the first three are:—

Embolima	. long.	124°	lat.	31°
Pentagramma	,,	124°	,,	30°20′
Asigramma .	,,	123°	,,	20° 0′

(Ptolemy's *Geography*, translation, McCrindle, with map, in *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 356. The translation was also published separately in Calcutta, 1885).

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, Oct., 1896, p. 673.

of the fort agreed closely with that given by Colonel Deane's informant. The ruins were said to be overgrown with dense jungle The slopes of the mountain below Shāhkōt were described as being steep and rocky on all sides, but particularly so towards the Indus, where the ascent is by a narrow path. Dr. Stein was then convinced of the identity of Mahāban with Aornos, and showed that Cunningham's objections are based on erroneous premisses.[1]

Embolima. The ruined fort of Amb, about sixty miles above Attock, is situated opposite the town of Darband on the Indus, which is there crossed by a ferry. It is described by Abbott as 'a celebrated castle'. To the west of Amb and on the same spur of the Mahāban mountain there was said to be a fort named Balimah, and the Greek name Embolima would seem to be a transcription of Amb-Balimah, that is to say, 'Amb near Balimah'.[2] The map of the Panjāb shows a second Amb in the Hoshyārpur district, and a third in the Salt Range about fifty miles to the south-east of Kālabāgh.[3] It would be necessary, therefore, to distinguish the Amb on the Indus as 'Amb near Balimah'. Similarly, Akbar's famous capital Fatehpur is distinguished from the other innumerable places of the same name as Fatehpur-Sikri, or Fatehpur near Sikri. Such double-barrelled names are very common in India. Curtius erroneously gives the name of Alexander's dépôt as Ecbolima.

Conclusion. Grote, although satisfied that Abbott had made out 'a strong case' for his thesis of the identity of Mahāban with Aornos, still felt doubts concerning the applicability of some details in the lively description of the mountain recorded by Curtius. That author states that the Indus 'washes its roots', and relates how, in the first attack, some of the assailants 'fell from the shelving crags, and were engulfed in the river which flowed underneath'. But these details need not inspire any doubts. The Indus does actually 'wash the roots' of the Mahāban mountain,[4] the spurs of which descend to the river, and there need

[1] Stein, *Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force*, pp. 45–8 (Lahore, Government Press, 1898). An abstract of this report is printed in *Proc. A. S. B.*, Mar., 1898.

[2] Abbott, 'The Battle Field of Alexander and Porus,' *J. A. S. B.*, 1848, pp. 627–8, 633; and 'Gradus ad Aornon', ibid., 1854, p. 344. The name of the Ambēlā Pass may be connected with that of Amb. The Greek name Aornos may be a transcription of the word *aranai*, a common name for hill ridges in those parts (Bellew, *An Inquiry into the Ethnography of Afghanistan*, p. 68, Woking, 1891).

[3] Cunningham, *Reports*, xiv, p. 33, pl. I.

[4] Strabo (xv, 8) also states that the foot of the mountain or rock of Aornos is washed by the Indus near its source. Of course, the ancients knew nothing about the Indus in the upper reaches of the river, and thought that its source was in the outer Himalaya.

not be any difficulty in believing that, in the early stages of the siege, while such spurs were in dispute, some of the attacking force were unlucky enough to tumble into the stream. The statement of Curtius that the rock on the summit rises up straight till it terminates in a sharp pinnacle, like the turning-post (*meta*) of a Roman circus, may possibly be to some extent a rhetorical exaggeration. Its inaccessibility so impressed the ancient writers that they habitually speak of Aornos as a *petra*, or 'rock', even when describing its vast extent.

The arguments stated above, based on a consensus of competent opinion, were sufficient, when the first edition of this book appeared, in 1904, to justify the belief that the identity of Mahāban with Aornos was proved. But at the end of October, 1904, Colonel Sir Harold Deane succeeded in making arrangements with the tribes by which Dr. Stein, accompanied by a surveyor, was enabled to ascend Mahāban, and examine Shāhkōṭ. The explorer reported the results of his visit next year (*Report of Archaeol. Survey Work in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, for the year Jan. 2nd,* 1904–*Mar.* 31*st,* 1905, pp. 19–31 : Peshawar, Govt. Press, 1905). Dr. Stein states that there is 'no trace to be seen anywhere' on the summit of Mahāban of the plateau which is a prominent feature in the Greek accounts, that the extent of the summit is 'remarkably confined', that the extant ruins are 'insignificant', being so small that three or four hundred men 'crowded uncomfortably every bit of tolerably level ground on the summit', that the greatest length of the area on the summit is 420 feet, the width varying from about 80 to 200 feet; that the masonry of the little fort called Shāhkōṭ is 'of the roughest', and perhaps post-Muhammadan in date ; that there are no springs ; that neither 'Balimah' nor the alleged 'castle' at Amb is known locally ; that the great ravine which separated Ptolemy's position from the rock of Aornos does not exist at Mahāban ; and, consequently, that the topographical facts of Mahāban do not agree with the descriptions of Aornos. It is thus proved that the information on which Abbott based his opinion was erroneous, and that the identification of Aornos with Mahāban must be given up. Probably the true site will be found in the unexplored country higher up the Indus. This conjecture may be supported by the statement of Curtius that after leaving the pass, Alexander 'arrived after the sixteenth encampment at the Indus', that is to say, Hephaistion's camp near Ohind. An alternative suggestion, favoured by Dr. Stein, that the Greek detailed accounts are imaginative lying, does not commend itself to my judgement.

APPENDIX E

Alexander's Camp, the Passage of the Hydaspes; and the Site of the Battle with Pōros

Problems are soluble.

The solution of the problems concerning the sites of Alexander's camp on the bank of the Hydaspes, the passage of that river, and the battle-field may be attained, I believe, with sufficient accuracy by careful and impartial examination of the statements made by the ancient historians and of the actual topography.

Hydaspes river.

The Hydaspes (Vitastā, Bihat, or Jihlam, commonly called Jhelum) river has changed its course in a less degree than any of the other rivers of the Panjāb, and in the portion of its stream above Jalālpur, with which alone the present discussion is concerned, little material change has occurred. The solution of the three problems in question is consequently not complicated to any serious extent by doubts as to the ancient course of the river.[1]

Taxila.

Nor is there any doubt as to the position of Taxila, the great city from which Alexander started on his march to the Hydaspes. Although Cunningham's description of the remains of the city is in many respects inadequate, his identification of the ruins at and near Shāhdhēri with the site of Taxila is certainly correct. The ruins, which are mere mounds scattered through the fields, are situated to the north-west of Rāwalpindi, and about nine miles to the south-east of Hasan Abdāl village.[2]

Taxila to Hydaspes.

The distance from the site of Taxila to the town of Jihlam (Jhelum) in a direct line, as measured on the map, is about ninety miles, and the direct distance from Taxila to Jalālpur, some thirty miles lower down the river, is a few miles more. The northern or upper road from Shāhdhēri (Taxila) to the town of Jihlam via Rohtās and the Bakrāla Pass is ninety-four English miles. Roads or paths leading from Shāhdhēri to Jalālpur via Dudhiāl and the Bunhār Pass vary in length from 109 to 114 miles.[3]

[1] Greek, Ὑδάσπης or Βιδάσπης (Ptolemy); Sanskrit, *Vitastā*; Prākrit, *Vidastā*; Kashmīrī, *Vyath*; Panjābī, *Bihat* or *Wihat*. Muhammadan writers refer to the river as 'the river of Jihlam', that is to say, the river flowing past the town of Jihlam, where the royal ferry (*shāh guzar*) was situated. Modern usage has abbreviated the Muhammadan designation into 'the Jihlam', or, as it is commonly written, 'Jhelum.' Little deviation has occurred in the course of the stream, except near its junction with the Akesinēs or Chināb, which has been moved 'often and considerably' (Raverty, 'The Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries,' *J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1892, pp. 318, 329, 332; Stein, *transl. Rājat*, ii, 411).

[2] N. lat. 33° 48′ 56″; E. long. 72° 44′ 41″.

[3] Cunningham, *Archaeol. Survey Rep.*, ii, 112, 179.

Every one is agreed that Alexander must have reached the bank of the Hydaspes either at Jihlam or Jalālpur; no other place can be thought of. Both towns are situated on ancient lines of road commanding ancient ferries.

Route to Jihlam.

The invader's obvious goal unquestionably would have been Jihlam, which is appreciably nearer to Taxila, and has a ferry 'infinitely more convenient, and only one-third the width of the Jalālpur ferry'.[1] The road to either crossing-place is rugged and difficult, but a large force marching to Jalālpur would be more liable to entanglement in the intricate ravines of the Salt Range, and would encounter more formidable obstacles than those met with on the road to Jihlam. The presumption, therefore, is that Alexander would have adopted the shorter and easier route and formed his camp near the town of Jihlam. The opinion that he followed this natural and obvious course of action has been advocated by Burnes, Court, and Abbott, who were all well qualified to express an authoritative opinion in virtue of their military experience and exact local knowledge.

Jalālpur theory improbable.

The rival theory that Alexander's camp was formed at Jalālpur, and that the passage of the river was effected a few miles above that town has been maintained by authorities of equal personal weight—Elphinstone, Cunningham, and Chesney—and these writers, being better known in Europe than their opponents, have succeeded in winning general assent to the Jalālpur theory, in spite of its inherent improbability.

Cunningham's view.

This theory has been defended at length by Cunningham, whose arguments would have gained additional force if they had been propounded after impartial examination of the site which Abbott, after careful survey, determined to be that of the battle-field. If the battle took place in the Karrī plain, as maintained by Abbott, Alexander's camp must have been at or close to Jihlam, and the passage of the river must have been effected above that town. But, unfortunately, Cunningham never attempted to meet Abbott's reasoning, nor did he examine the course of the river above Jihlam. Having formed in 1846 the opinion that Alexander's camp was at Jalālpur, Cunningham was content in 1863 to examine the Jalālpur position with a determination to make the topography fit in with his preconceived decision. He merely alludes to General Abbott's paper as 'an elaborate disquisition', and there is nothing to show that he ever studied it carefully.[2]

His river-distance argument.

Cunningham relies on three arguments in favour of the Jalālpur site for Alexander's camp. The third of these is that, according to Arrian (*Anab.* vi, 2, 4), the fleet when descending

[1] Abbott, in *J. A. S. B.*, 1852, p. 219.
[2] *Reports*, ii, 174.

the Hydaspes from Nikaia, the town on the battle-field, reached the capital of Sophytes, king of the Salt Range, on the third day. The capital of Sophytes, according to Cunningham, was at Ahmadābād, 'which is just three days' distance for a laden boat from Jalālpur, but is six days from Jhelum,'[1] and, consequently, Jalālpur suits the conditions better than Jhelum. This argument, on which Cunningham himself laid little stress, obviously depends on the correct identification of the capital of Sophytes. Inasmuch as the 'identification' proposed by Cunningham is a bare guess, quite unsupported by evidence, the argument based upon it does not demand further consideration.

Argument from Strabo.

The second and more important argument is based upon a passage of Strabo (xv, 32), which states that Alexander's 'route as far as the Hydaspes was for the most part towards the south, and thenceforward was more easterly as far as the Hypanis [= Hyphasis]; but throughout it kept closer to the foot of the mountains than to the plains'.[2]

Inasmuch as Jalālpur is nearly due south, while Jihlam is approximately south-south-east from Taxila, the Jalālpur position for the camp seems at first sight to suit the first clause of Strabo's statement better than the Jihlam position.

Refuted.

But in reality either position suits the text equally well. We do not know the points at which Alexander crossed the succeeding rivers, the Akesinēs and the Hydraotes, nor the point at which he reached the most distant stream, Hyphasis [= Hypanis]. The assumption commonly made that Alexander crossed the Akesinēs (Chināb) at Wazīrābād does not rest on any evidence. Cunningham and the other authors who maintain the Jalālpur position forget the last clause of Strabo's statement to the effect that the whole route kept as close as possible to the foot of the hills. In another passage (xv, 26) Strabo explains that Alexander adopted this line of march because the rivers which traversed it could be crossed with greater facility near their sources than lower down.

Mr. McCrindle.

Mr. McCrindle, forgetting this most important general statement, which covers the whole route from Taxila to the Hyphasis, has constructed a map which represents Alexander as keeping away from the hills, and marching through the plains of the Panjāb past Jalālpur, Wazīrābād, Lahore, and Amritsar. The real line of march must have lain much farther to the north. The Hydaspes

[1] *Reports*, ii, 37, 38, 180. On p. 38 Cunningham makes out that Bhera was the capital of Sophytes, while on p. 37 he makes the same assertion concerning Aḥmadābād on the opposite bank.

[2] Ἡ μὲν οὖν μέχρι τοῦ Ὑδάσπου ὁδὸς τὸ πλέον ἦν ἐπὶ μεσημβρίαν· ἡ δ' ἐνθένδε πρὸς ἕω μᾶλλον μέχρι τοῦ Ὑπάνιος· ἅπασα δὲ τῆς ὑπωρείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πεδίων ἐχομένη.

must have been crossed close to the spot where it emerges from the hills above Jihlam, and the army must subsequently have passed close to Siālkōt and Gurdāspur, keeping near the present frontier of the Kashmīr (Jamū) state.

The assumption that Alexander followed this line of march agrees accurately with every part of Strabo's statement. A line drawn from Jihlam to Siālkōt, or to the north of that place, is considerably more easterly in direction than a line drawn from Taxila to Jihlam.

Cunningham's second argument in favour of the Jalālpur position therefore fails, like the third.

The argument which Cunningham places first, and on which he lays most stress, is based on Pliny's figures for the distance from Peukolaitis (Chārsadda), via Taxila, to the Hydaspes (vi, 21). Pliny gives the distances as (1) from Peukolaitis to Taxila 60 Roman = 55 English miles, and (2) from Taxila to the Hydaspes 120 Roman, or 110 English miles; and Cunningham argues that these figures suit Jalālpur better than they suit Jihlam. But it is notorious that the figures in Pliny's text are often erroneous. For example, the very passage referred to gives the distance from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis as 390 Roman miles, which is wildly wrong. It is rash, therefore, to rely on the figures in Pliny's text as we possess it. Cunningham himself was satisfied that the actual distance from Peukolaitis to Taxila, via Uhand, where Alexander crossed the Indus, is greater than that stated by Pliny, and proposed to correct the text (*Reports*, ii, 112). *Argument from Pliny.*

But, even if the figure of 120 Roman miles from Taxila to the Hydaspes be accepted as correct, it does not exclude the theory that Alexander's camp was at Jihlam. According to Cunningham (*Reports*, ii, 179) the distance by an old road is 94 miles. Pliny's distance is 110 English miles, and the difference is only 16 miles, which is insignificant, considering that we have no information concerning the route taken by Alexander in very difficult country, and no knowledge of the changes which have occurred in twenty-two centuries. The argument based on Pliny's figures is, consequently, worthless, whether the figures be right or wrong. *Refuted.*

I have thus shown that all Cunningham's arguments for the Jalālpur theory fail, and that the Jihlam theory, so far from being opposed to Strabo's evidence, is actually supported by it.

The theory of Elphinstone and Cunningham is still more strongly opposed by the evidence of topographical facts than by that of Strabo. *Topography.*

The statements of Arrian, a critical writer, who had access to the best contemporary authorities and carefully weighed their testimony, are extremely clear.

The spot higher up the river to which Alexander marched by night in order to 'steal a passage' was situated at 'a remarkable bend' in the stream, which helped to conceal his movements.[1] There is no such bend at the spot above Jalālpur, between the villages of Mandiala and Kothera, where Cunningham locates the passage (*Reports*, ii, pl. LXVI). But there is such a bend at Bhūnā above Jihlam, where Abbott rightly locates it.

Night march.

Arrian's excellent and vivid account (v, 11) clearly implies that Alexander made his night march parallel to the river. Having described the wooded bluff and island near the remarkable bend of the river, he goes on to say:—

> 'Now the bluff and the island were 150 stadia [= about seventeen English miles] distant from the great camp. But along the whole of the bank he had posted running sentries at a proper distance for keeping each other in sight, and readily transmitting along the line any orders that might be received from any quarter.'

Half-way between the camp and the crossing-place Meleager and other officers were stationed with a considerable force, under orders to cross over in detachments as soon as they should see the Indians fairly engaged in action. The historian then goes on to state that Alexander marched 'at a considerable distance from the bank so that he might not be seen'. These statements prove that Alexander, when making his night march, kept an approximately straight course, parallel to the river bank, but sufficiently far from it to escape the enemy's observation.

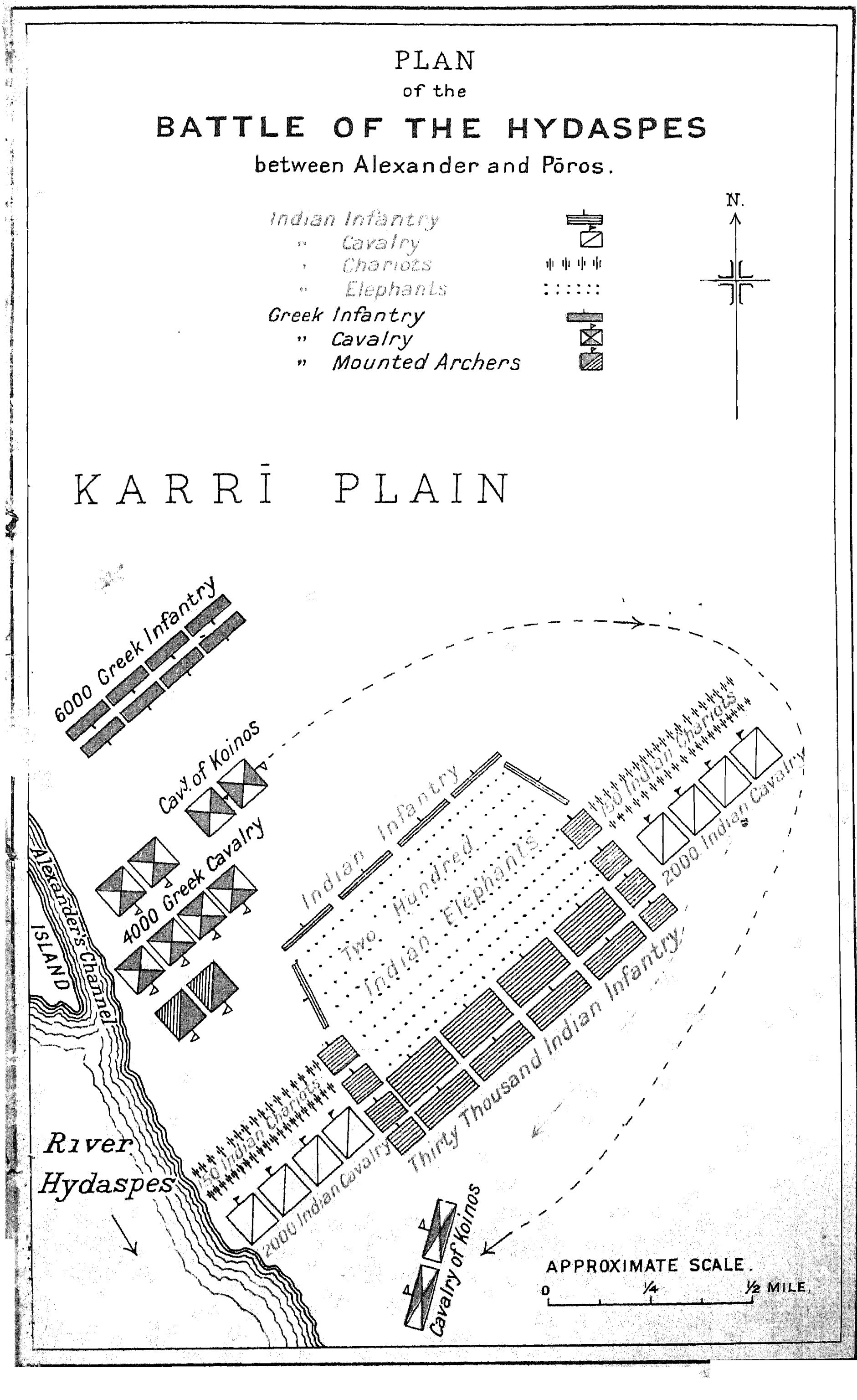
Cunningham's theory erroneous.

They are absolutely inconsistent with the theory of Cunningham, as expressed in his map (*Reports*, ii, pl. LXVI), which represents Alexander as going round three sides of a rectangle among the ravines of the Salt Range, marching inland from Jalālpur nearly due north for seven or eight miles, then eastward for seven miles, and finally, two or three miles back to the river. The local facts at Jalālpur cannot be reconciled with the account of the night march as given by Arrian, and Cunningham's map is a desperate attempt to reconcile the irreconcilable, and to bolster up a preconceived theory based on fallacious premisses.

Description of river.

The descriptions of the river itself at the time when Alexander crossed it, as given by the ancient historians, are equally inconsistent with the Jalālpur theory. All authorities agree that the river was then in high flood owing to the melting of the snows in the mountains and the incessant rain. But the width of the stream was only four *stadia* or 809 yards, whereas at Jalālpur at the same season, the end of June or the beginning of July, the

[1] *Ἄκρα ἦν ἀνέχουσα τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ Ὑδάσπου, ἵνα ἐπέκαμπτεν ὁ ποταμὸς λόγου ἀξίως* (Arrian, *Anab.* v, 11).


PLAN
of the
BATTLE OF THE HYDASPES
between Alexander and Pōros.
Indian Infantry
" Cavalry
" Chariots
" Elephants
Greek Infantry
" Cavalry
" Mounted Archers
N.
KARRĪ PLAIN
6000 Greek Infantry
Cavʸ. of Koinos
4000 Greek Cavalry
Alexander's Channel
ISLAND
Indian Infantry
Two Hundred Indian Elephants
150 Indian Chariots
2000 Indian Cavalry
Thirty Thousand Indian Infantry
River Hydaspes
Cavalry of Koinos
APPROXIMATE SCALE.
0 ¼ ½ MILE.

river would have been more than double that width. The current was interrupted by numerous islands and sunken rocks. At Jalālpur there are neither rocks nor islands.[1]

The true theory.

If the Jalālpur theory be given up, and Alexander's camp be located at or near Jihlam, all topographical difficulties disappear. Alexander's march by night is then seen to have taken place at a moderate distance from the west bank of the river, in a direction nearly parallel to the stream and to have been directed to a point situated at a 'remarkable bend' of the river, distant from the supposed position of his camp about thirteen or fourteen miles in a direct line, which distance might well be estimated as seventeen miles for marching purposes, if the route actually taken were slightly circuitous. It is, of course, impossible to define either the exact site of Alexander's camp or the precise spot where the army embarked on its perilous passage, and it is quite possible that two or three miles should be added to the approximate distance indicated by General Abbott's map.

Alexander on interior line.

By marching to the vicinity of Bhūnā near the 'remarkable bend' south-east of Manglā, Alexander gained the advantage of moving along an interior chord line, while his opponent on the opposite side of the river was compelled to go round the outside of a curve. If the quicksands were in the same position in Alexander's time as they now are, the forces of Pōros must necessarily have covered a long circuit before they could approach the Macedonian landing-place. In any case, the distance which the Indians had to traverse was considerably longer than the chord traversed by Alexander.

Battle-field.

When the Macedonian army of about 11,000 men, after surmounting all the difficulties of the passage, ultimately found itself on the mainland, it entered a considerable plain of firm soil known as 'Karrī', girdled by low hills on the north and east. This plain at its widest part is about five miles broad, and afforded a sufficient, though not excessive, space for the battle. The river at the crossing-place runs over quartz boulders, and a still existing island, 'larger than the rest,' corresponds closely

[1] During the operations preceding the battle the soldiers of the opposing armies used to swim out to the islands and engage in combat. The river, confined by high banks, rushed in a seething torrent over sunken rocks (*Curtius*, viii, 13). The army during its progress to the Hyphasis was exposed for seventy days to violent storms of rain (*Diodorus*, xviii, 94; *Strabo*, xv, 27 ὕεσθαι συνεχῶς). In July Elphinstone found the river at Jalālpur to be one mile, one furlong, and thirty-five perches wide, and from nine to fourteen feet deep (Thornton, *Gazetteer*, s.v. 'Jhelum'). The ferry at Jihlam is only one-third of the width of that at Jalālpur, and there are 'no islands' at the latter place (Abbott, *J.A.S.B.*, 1852, p. 219). Mr. Pearson says that there are still wooded islands above Dārāpur, midway between Jihlam and Jalālpur (*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 260).

with that described by the Greek historians as the place on which Alexander first landed, and may or may not have continued in existence since his time.

lexander's hannel.

The channel marked 'Alexander's channel', now considerably silted up, seems to be similar to that which the Macedonian army forded, and if not precisely identical, is certainly very close to the position of the channel crossed by Alexander. General Abbott is quite justified by his map in saying that 'the river is at this moment [1848] so exactly as described by Alexander's historian that the map might seem to be an ancient rather than a modern production'. General Abbott's 'elaborate disquisition' is based on a careful survey effected by two days' hard work from sunrise to evening each day, and his observations have never been contradicted or impugned. Cunningham simply took no notice of them.

rote's pinion.

Grote, the historian of Greece, is the only author of repute who has shown due appreciation of Abbott's labours, and he has acknowledged that the general's memoir supplies 'highly plausible reasons in support of the hypothesis that the crossing took place near Jelum'. Mr. Grote's opinion would doubtless have become that of the learned world if General Abbott's essay had been published in an easily accessible form. Buried as it is in an old volume of the Asiatic Society's Journal, few people have read it; whereas the official publications of Sir Alexander Cunningham are widely known, and his opinions have been accepted too often without criticism.

Conclusion.

I have not the slightest doubt that Alexander marched to the Hydaspes by the shortest and easiest route open to him; that he struck the river at or near Jihlam, where he pitched his camp; that he crossed the stream where it was rocky and narrow, a little below the point where it emerges from the hills; and that the battle with Pōros was fought in the Karrī plain. The line of march between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis cannot be precisely delineated, but it was certainly as close as possible to the foot of the hills, and must have passed near Siālkōt. The late Major Raverty was of the same opinion. He wrote to me in 1905:—'I quite agree with you as to Alexander's crossing-place over the Hydaspes . . . I well recollect when we crossed the river after the battle of Guzerāt, in pursuit of the Sikhs and Afghāns, that we crossed just at the place that you have mentioned, and the matter was discussed and Abbott's theory endorsed. We must give Alexander credit for some military knowledge at least, and that would naturally lead him to keep nearer the sources of the rivers in order to cross the more easily; and, at the same time, the hills on the north protected his flank'.

APPENDIX F

The Date of the Battle of the Hydaspes

Exact date doubtful.

The evidence of the ancient historians concerning the flooded state of the river, and the continued wet weather before, during, and after the battle, which has been cited in Appendix E, establishes beyond doubt that the battle was fought towards the end of June, or early in July. But certain positive statements which profess to define the date with greater precision have also been made, and must be briefly examined. Arrian makes two such statements, and a third is added by Diodorus.

Arrian's first statement.

Arrian's first statement (*Anab.* v, 9) that the battle was fought after the summer solstice, that is to say later than June 21, is undoubtedly correct, being in accordance with the evidence as to the state of the river and with the remark of Diodorus that when the army reached the Hyphasis it had endured violent showers of rain for seventy days. The MSS. all read μετὰ τροπάς, and the suggestion made by some editors to substitute κατά for μετά is unjustifiable.

Arrian's second statement.

But the second statement of Arrian (*Anab.* v, 19) that the battle was fought 'in the month of Mounychion of the year when Hēgemōn was Archon in Athens' seems to be partially inaccurate. The assertion of Diodorus (xvii, 87) that the entry into Taxila, in the spring preceding the battle, occurred during the year 'in which Chremēs was archon at Athens, and in which the Romans appointed Publius Cornelius and Aulus Postumius consuls,' is apparently altogether erroneous. Neither the consuls nor the archon named can be accepted as correct.

Macedonian calendar.

The original authorities, the Macedonian officers of Alexander's army, probably expressed the date in terms of the Macedonian calendar, and the divergent statements made by the historians may be due to errors in the conversion of Macedonian into Attic and Roman dates. As Mr. Hogarth has observed, it is impossible for a modern scholar to check such conversions, because our knowledge of the details of the Macedonian calendar is very imperfect, and little is known of the methods used for converting Macedonian dates into those expressed in terms of other calendars.[1]

Mounychion.

The battle certainly was fought in the year 326 B.C., and the corresponding Attic year (= Ol. 113, 2) is supposed to have

[1] Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (Murray, 1897), Appendix.

begun on June 25, 327, and ended on June 15, 326 B.C.[1] The close of Mounychion, the tenth month, even if the aid of an intercalary month be called in, cannot be brought down later than June 13. If there were no intercalary month, Mounychion should have ended on or about May 14. But, as we have seen, the battle occurred later than June 21, and it seems clear, therefore, that Arrian has wrongly named the Attic month. A rash proposal to substitute 'Metageitnion' for 'Mounychion', the reading of the MSS. is, as Grote observes, 'mere conjecture,' and is, moreover, inconsistent with the statement that Hēgemōn was archon.

The archons.

Chremēs certainly succeeded Hēgemōn as archon; and if Unger is right in assigning the end of the Attic year 327–6 B.C. to June 15, Diodorus, although wrong in ascribing the entry into Taxila to the archonship of Chremēs, would be right if he meant his readers to understand that the battle occurred after Chremēs had become archon. If, as other authorities suppose, the archonship of Chremēs did not begin until July 18, then Arrian will be right in stating that the battle was fought while Hēgemōn was still archon.

Explanation of error.

Arrian's error in naming the month Mounychion may be explained plausibly by the supposition that Alexander reached the river bank in that month, and that by a slight carelessness the date of his arrival in camp was taken as the date of the great battle. The king's elaborate secret preparations for crossing the river must have occupied a long time, at least six or seven weeks, and if the camp was formed during Mounychion, early in May, the battle must have been fought at the very end of June, or, more probably, early in July.

Conclusion.

Exact certitude is not attainable, and it is not possible to go much beyond the remark of Grote, that 'as far as an opinion can be formed, it would seem that the battle was fought about the end of June, or beginning of July 326 B.C., after the rainy season had commenced; towards the close of the archonship of Hēgemōn, and the beginning of that of Chremes'.[2] I accept

[1] Unger, 'Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Romer,' in *Grundriss der klass. Alterth.*, pp. 742–4, 752, 755. But the exactness of the results of the inquiry appears to be doubtful. See also Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, pp. 39, 44, 103; and note 1 in McCrindle, *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, 2nd ed., p. 274.

[2] *History of Greece*, vol. xii, 51, note, ed. 1869. Mr. Pearson, however, basing his opinion on his personal knowledge of the rivers at all times of the year, and under all conditions, holds that 'the real date for the passage of the Hydaspes was, as stated by Arrian, the month of Mounychion in the archonship of Hēgemōn, and that Mounychion in that year occurred as early as April rather than as late as June. It was a matter of prime importance to cross the river before it was in high flood, and no sufficient explanation is given of the supposed delay'

the archonship of Hēgemōn on the authority of Arrian, and believe that the battle took place early in July 326 B.C., in the last month, Skeirophorion, of the Attic year, a few days before Chremēs became archon.

(*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 257). Mr. Pearson, consequently, is obliged to disbelieve the positive statements of our authorities about the weather. The simple 'explanation of the supposed delay' is that Alexander was unable to 'steal a passage' earlier, and was obliged to make the best of unfavourable conditions imposed on him through the delay caused by the vigilance of Pōros.

CHAPTER IV

ALEXANDER'S INDIAN CAMPAIGN: THE RETREAT

Retreat to Akesinēs.

THE retreating army retraced its steps, and arrived again without further adventure on the bank of the Akesinēs (Chināb), where Hephaistion had completed the building of a fortified town. Voluntary settlers from the neighbouring country and such of the mercenary troops as seemed unfit for active service were left to occupy and garrison this post, and Alexander began to prepare for his voyage down the rivers to the Great Sea.

Appointment of satrap.

Envoys bearing tribute from the kings of the lower hills, now known as the chieftainships of Rajauri and Bhimbhar and the British district of Hazāra, were received at this time. Alexander, who regarded his Indian conquests as permanent additions to the empire, and evidently cherished hopes of a return to the country, having accepted the tenders of submission, solemnly appointed the king of Abhisāra (Bhimbhar and Rajauri) to the office of satrap, and invested him with authority over the king of Urasā (Hazāra), who is called Arsakes by Arrian.

Reinforcements.

About the same time a welcome reinforcement of 5,000 cavalry from Thrace, and 7,000 infantry, sent by the king's cousin, Harpalos, satrap of Babylon, arrived, bringing no less than 25,000 suits of armour inlaid with gold and silver. The new accoutrements were at once distributed to the ragged troops, and the old suits were burned.[1]

Preparations for river voyage.

Alexander then advanced to the Hydaspes (Jihlam), and encamped on the bank, probably on the site of the camp

[1] *Curtius*, ix, 3, Diodorus (xvii, 95) gives higher and less credible figures, namely, 30,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. Both authors agree as to the number of suits of armour, which must have required an enormous transport train. Diodorus adds that 100 talents of medicines were received at the same time.

formerly occupied by Pōros. Several weeks were now devoted to the final preparations for the voyage down the rivers. All available country boats plying on the river were impressed for the service, and deficiencies were supplied by the construction of new vessels, for which the forests at the base of the hills afforded ample facilities. Crews were provided from the contingents of seafaring nations, Phoenicians, Cyprians, Karians, and Egyptians, who accompanied the army, and by the end of October, 326 B.C., all was ready. The fleet, which included eight galleys of thirty oars each, and a multitude of horse transports and small craft of all kinds, probably numbered nearly two thousand vessels.[1]

Promotion of Pōros. Before the voyage began Alexander convoked an assembly of his officers and the ambassadors of the Indian powers, and in their presence appointed Pōros to be king of all the conquered territories lying between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis. These territories are said to have been occupied by seven nations, the Glausai, Kathaioi, and others, and to have comprised no less than two thousand towns. The opportunity was seized to effect a reconciliation between Pōros and his old enemy the king of Taxila, and the friendship between the two monarchs was cemented by a matrimonial alliance. The king of Taxila, who had vied with his rival in zealous service to the invader, was formally confirmed in his sovereignty of the country between the Indus and the Hydaspes.

Kingdom of Saubhūti. Alexander, who never neglected to make provision for the protection of his flank and rear, and for the uninterrupted maintenance of communications with the distant base in Europe, instructed Generals Hephaistion and Krateros to march with all possible speed to secure the capital of King

[1] Arrian (*Anab*, vi, 2), on the excellent authority of Ptolemy, son of Lagos, who became king of Egypt. The same author in *Indika*, ch. xix, probably on the authority of Nearchos, gives the total strength as 800 only (*νῆες δὲ αἱ σύμπασαι αὐτῷ ὀκτακόσιαι ἦσαν, αἵ τε μακραὶ καὶ ὅσα στρογγύλα πλοῖα, καὶ ἄλλα ἱππαγωγά, καὶ σιτία ἅμα τῇ στρατιῇ ἄγουσαι*). Curtius and Diodorus estimate the number of vessels as 1,000. Considering that 8,000 troops, several thousand horses, and vast quantities of supplies were carried, the higher estimate of Ptolemy must be admitted to be correct. Some editors arbitrarily change the 'eight hundred' of the *Indika* into '1800', but the reading is 'eight hundred'.

Saubhūti (Sophytes, or Sopeithēs), lord of the fastnesses of the Salt Range stretching from Jihlam to the Indus, who submitted without resistance.[1]

The generals.

The fleet was to be protected by an army of 120,000 men marching along the banks, under the generals above named; Krateros having the command on the right or western bank of the river, while the larger portion of the army, accompanied by two hundred elephants, was led by Hephaistion along the left or eastern bank. Philippos, satrap of the countries west of the Indus, had orders to follow three days later with the rear-guard.

Oct. 326 B. C. Voyage to first confluence.

Thus escorted the vast fleet began its memorable voyage. At daybreak one morning towards the end of October, Alexander, having offered libations from a golden bowl to the river gods, his ancestor Herakles, Ammon, and any other god whom he was accustomed to reverence, gave the signal for starting by sound of trumpet. In stately procession, without confusion or disorder, the ships quitted their anchorage, and moved down stream to the astonishment of the crowds of natives lining the banks, who had never before seen horses on board ship. The plash of thousands of oars, the words of command, and the chants of the rowers wakened the echoes, which reverberated from bank to bank, and enhanced the amazement of the gaping throng of spectators. On the third day the fleet reached the place, perhaps Bhīra, where Hephaistion and Krateros had been ordered to pitch their camps facing each other on opposite sides of the river. Here a halt was made for two days to allow the rear-guard under the command of Philippos to come up, and that general, on his arrival, was

[1] The position of the kingdom of Sophytes is fixed by the remark of Strabo (xv, 30) that it included 'a mountain composed of fossil salt sufficient for the whole of India'. Curtius (ix, 1) misplaces Sophytes on the west of the Hyphasis, and is followed by Mr. McCrindle, whose map shows the kingdom as lying north of Amritsar, an impossible position. Cunningham (*Anc. Geog.*, p. 155) may or may not be right in placing the capital of Sophytes at Old Bhīra (properly 'Bahrah'), on the west side of the Jihlam. For the coins of Sophytes of Greek type see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 9, 11; *Catal. of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. i, p. 7. The restoration of the name Saubhūti is due to M. Sylvain Lévi (*J. A.*, ser. viii, vol. xv, pp. 237-9).

directed to convert his force into an advance-guard and proceed along the bank of the river.

Rapids.

On the fifth day after leaving the halting-place, the fleet arrived at the first river confluence, where the Hydaspes met the greater stream of the Akesinēs. The channel where the waters of the two rivers then met was so very narrow that dangerous whirlpools were formed, and much disorder was occasioned in the fleet. Two of the warships were sunk with the greater part of their crews, and the vessel which carried Alexander was in imminent danger of sharing the same fate. By dint of great exertion on the part of the king and all concerned the bulk of the fleet was ultimately brought to a safe anchorage under the shelter of a headland, and the necessary steps were taken to repair the damage suffered.

Position of confluence.

It is impossible to determine the spot where these exciting incidents occurred. The confluence of the two rivers at Timmū (N. lat. 31° 10′) now takes place quietly, and presents none of the peculiarities to which Arrian and Curtius devote so much vivid description. All that can be said is that in Alexander's time the confluence must have been situated much farther to the north.

Courses of the rivers.

Our exact knowledge of the courses of the rivers in the Panjāb and Sind begins only from the date of the Arab invasion in 712 A.D., more than a thousand years subsequent to the expedition of Alexander. Concerning the changes which happened during that millennium absolutely nothing is known. But during the twelve hundred years that have elapsed since the Arab conquests changes on a stupendous scale are known to have occurred, and it is certain that similar effects must have been produced by the ever operating causes during the thousand years which intervened between Alexander and Muhammad bin Kāsim.[1] During the known period, earthquakes, floods, changes of level, denudation, accretion, and alterations of climate all have contributed to transform the face of the country. The delta of the

[1] Muhammad was the son of Kāsim. Elphinstone's blunder, 'Muhammad Kāsim,' is repeated in most books on Indian history.

Indus has advanced more than fifty miles, and has thus lengthened the courses of the rivers, while necessarily diminishing their gradients and velocity. One huge river, the Hakrā or Wahindah, which formerly gave life and wealth to the desert wastes of Bikanīr, Bahāwalpur, and Sind, has ceased to exist; the Biās (Hyphasis) has forsaken its ancient independent bed, and become a tributary of the Sutlaj;[1] while the other rivers, the Indus, Jihlam (Hydaspes), Chināb (Akesinēs), and Rāvī (Hydraōtes) have all repeatedly changed their courses and points of junction.

Futility of 'identifications'.

These facts, although indisputably true, have been ignored generally in practice by the historians of Alexander, who have pretended to trace the line of his river voyage on modern maps, and to 'identify' town after town on the banks of the several rivers. All such identifications are vain. No man can tell in which of the ancient beds the Chināb or any of the other rivers named flowed in the time of Alexander, and, when the positions of the rivers are not ascertainable, it is clear that we cannot reasonably expect to identify places on their banks. The most that is possible is to give general indications of the course of the voyage and of the location of the principal nations encountered by Alexander. The sites of the towns and the precise positions of the confluences and crossing-places mentioned by the ancient historians cannot be precisely determined. Inasmuch as the courses of all the rivers were then much shorter than they now are, all the confluences must have been situated considerably farther north than at present, and this *a priori* inference appears to be fully supported by observation of

[1] Major Raverty gives as various correct spellings, Sutlaj, Sutlāj, and Shuttlaj. This river, which was called Śatadru in Sanskrit, is rarely mentioned by the Greek or Roman authors under the name of Hesidrus. The Hypanis of Strabo is a variant for Hyphasis. A learned reviewer says that 'exception may be taken to the strange remark that the Biās was in early days not a confluent of the Sutlej (p. 85); for the Rig Veda says that one flows into the other'. The only passage in the Rig Veda which mentions the Vipāśa is iii, 33, and that may be interpreted as referring to twin streams more or less parallel, but not necessarily confluent. Compare the reference to 'the Vipāś together with the Śatudrī' in the *Brihaddevatā* (Macdonell's ed., i, 114).

the most ancient beds of the streams. The confluence of the Akesinēs and Hydaspes, the first of the four confluences described by Arrian, was probably situated not very far from the modern town of Jhang, and approximately in N. lat. 31°.[1]

Alexander here landed his troops in order to subjugate the adjoining tribes called Siboi and Agalassoi by Curtius, and to prevent them from joining the powerful nation of the Malloi (Sanskrit Mālavā or Mālaya), who dwelt lower down the river, and were known to be preparing for strenuous resistance. The Siboi, who are described as rude folk clad in the skins of wild beasts and armed with clubs, submitted, and were allowed to retain their freedom. Their neighbours, the Agalassoi, who were able to muster a force estimated at 40,000 foot and 3,000 horse, ventured to resist, and met with a terrible fate. Multitudes were put to the sword, and multitudes sold into slavery. Alexander advanced some thirty miles into their country, and captured their principal town. At a second town he met with an obstinate defence, which cost the lives of many Macedonians. The inhabitants, said to number 20,000, despairing of ultimate success, set fire to the town and cast themselves with their wives and children into the flames. The citadel escaped the fire, and was garrisoned by a detachment left behind for the purpose. The lives of 3,000 of its gallant defenders were spared.[2]

The Siboi and Agalassoi.

[1] The text is mainly based on Major Raverty's valuable work, The 'Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries: a Geographical and Historical Study', in *J. A. S. B.*, 1892, Part I, with numerous maps, which has not attracted the attention that it deserves. The defects of form in this treatise, which is overloaded with 590 discursive notes, make it very difficult reading. The observations on Alexander's Indian campaign are scattered through the text and notes, and mixed up with remarks on the most diverse topics.

For general comments on the futility of current 'identifications' see pp. 155, 226, 250, 469, note 539, &c.; the Hydaspes (Jihlam), pp. 336–52; Akesinēs (Chināb), pp. 336–52; Hydraōtes (Rāvī), pp. 352–71; Hyphasis (Biās or Biāh), pp. 371–90; Sutlaj, pp. 391–418; Hakṛā, pp. 418–22, 454–66; general results, pp. 469–508; earthquakes and floods, pp. 392, 468, 470, &c.; changes of level, pp. 300, 470; alterations of climate, pp. 282, 354, 417; extension of coast-line, p. 272 (note 235), pp. 317, 469, 501, &c. The whole work is deserving of the most careful study. The author gives full references, so that his statements can be readily tested.

[2] Arrian, *Anab.* vi, 5; *Curtius*, ix, 4; *Diodorus*, xvii, 96. The Agalassoi are distinguished by Diodorus only, who says that Alex-

Voyage to second confluence.

These events probably took place to the north-east of Jhang, the operations having been undertaken in accordance with Alexander's invariable practice, in order to secure his flank and rear.

Information having been received that a confederacy of the Malloi, Oxydrakai, and other independent tribes occupying the river valleys was being formed with the intention of offering strenuous resistance to the invasion, Alexander hastened the movements of his fleet and army with the object of attacking the confederates severally in detail, before they could mature their plans and combine their forces. The fleet and the bulk of the army received orders to assemble at the next confluence, that of the Hydraōtes (Rāvī) with the Akesinēs (Chināb, including the Hydaspes or Jihlam).

The allied tribes.

Alexander in person landed with a picked force, largely composed, as usual, of mounted troops, to operate against the Malloi, the most formidable of the allied tribes, who occupied the fertile valley of the Hydraōtes, on both banks of the river. Their neighbours, the Oxydrakai, who dwelt on the banks of the upper course of the Hyphasis, although ordinarily at war with the Malloi, had resolved to forget old enmities and to make common cause against the invader. The rival nations cemented the alliance by wholesale intermarriage, each giving and taking ten thousand young women for wives.[1] But personal jealousies, such as in all ages have reduced to futility political combinations in India, prevented the alliance from taking effect. While the allies were discussing the claims of rival generals to command, Alexander acted, and, with masterly strategy, sweeping down upon the Malloi, extinguished their military power before the Oxydrakai could come to their aid. The forces at the command of the confederacy should have sufficed, if properly handled,

ander fired the town. The account in the text follows Curtius in respect of the voluntary immolation of the townspeople, an incident quite in keeping with Hindu character, and often repeated in later times. The Siboi were probably the ancestors of some of the half-wild tribes of pastoral Jats, who now inhabit the same region. For discussion of the topography, see my paper, 'The Position of the Autonomous Tribes of the Panjāb conquered by Alexander the Great,' in *J. R. A. S.*, Oct., 1903.

[1] *Diodorus*, xvii, 98.

to annihilate the small flying column at Alexander's disposal; for they are said to have comprised 80,000 or 90,000 fully equipped infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and from 700 to 900 chariots.

Alexander's strategy.

The exact strength of the Macedonian field force is not stated, but it must have been very small, not exceeding a few thousands.[1] But what it lacked in numbers was compensated for by its perfect mobility and the genius of its general. The Macedonians were alarmed at the magnitude of the opposing forces, and a repetition of the mutiny of the Hyphasis was with difficulty prevented by a stirring address delivered by the king. By two forced marches across the waterless uplands, now known as the *Bār*, which separate the valleys of the Akesinēs and Hydraōtes, Alexander completely surprised the Malloi, most of whom were working unarmed in the fields. Many of the helpless wretches were ruthlessly cut down, 'without their even turning to offer resistance,' and those who escaped the sword were shut up in the fortified towns.

Capture of towns.

One of these towns, with a citadel situated on a commanding height, was stormed under Alexander's personal direction, and 2,000 of the garrison were slain. Another town, against which Perdikkas had been sent, was found to be deserted. The inhabitants fled to the marshes in the river valley, but, even among the reeds and rushes, they could not escape the weapons of the Macedonian cavalry. Alexander then pushed on to the Hydraōtes, and caught up the retreating Malloi at the ford, inflicting severe loss upon them. He pursued them to the east of the river into the country now known as the Montgomery District, and took by mining and escalade a town inhabited by Brahmans. The king, with his customary disregard of danger, was the first man to scale the wall. The place was gallantly defended, but in vain; 'about 5,000 in all were killed, and as they were men of spirit, very few were taken prisoners'.

[1] It consisted of the hypaspist infantry, the foot-archers, the Agrianian or Thracian light-horse, the foot-guards under Peithōn, all the mounted archers, and half of the companion cavalry, or horse-guards. The force can hardly have exceeded 7,000 men in number.

Retreat of the Malloi.

The Malloi, being hard pressed, recrossed the Hydraōtes, the passage of which they attempted to defend with 50,000 men; but they were no match for the Europeans, and fled 'with headlong speed' to the strongest fortified town in the neighbourhood. This small town, which cannot be identified precisely, and was situated somewhere near the boundary of the Jhang and Montgomery Districts, eighty or ninety miles to the north-east of Multān, was the scene of one of the most memorable incidents in Alexander's adventurous career, admirably described by Arrian from materials supplied by Ptolemy.[1]

Alexander's dangerous wound.

The Macedonians, already masters of the town, were endeavouring to scale the walls of the citadel, when Alexander, thinking that the men bearing the ladders loitered too long, snatched one from the man carrying it, and mounted the wall, followed by only three companions, Peukestas, Leonnātos, and Abreas. Standing on the wall in his gleaming armour, the king was a mark for every missile, and, feeling that he could effect nothing where he was without support, boldly leaped down into the citadel followed by his three comrades. Abreas soon fell dead. Alexander, standing with his back to a tree that grew near the wall, slew the Indian governor and defended himself against all comers until his breast was pierced by an arrow, and he fell. Peukestas bestrode him as he lay, covering him with the sacred shield brought from Ilion, while Leonnātos, although severely wounded like his surviving comrade, protected him from side attacks. The ladders having broken, the maddened Macedonians were for a time powerless to help their king, but at last a few managed to scramble up the earthen wall,

[1] The town was a small one (*Strabo*, xv, 33). The current assertion that it should be identified with Multān (= Mūlasthānapura, see Beal's *Hiuen Tsiang*, ii, 274) is absolutely baseless. The name Multān has no etymological connexion with the name Malloi, and Multān is much too far south. The campaign against the Malloi was fought in the valley of the Hydraōtes, where they occupied the fertile lowlands, corresponding to the Montgomery District and parts of Jhang. See Raverty, op. cit., p. 364, and my article in *J. R. A. S.*, Oct., 1903. Ptolemy himself did not take part in Alexander's defence, as some authors say that he did.

while others broke in a gate, and so saved Alexander, who had fainted.

His recovery.

The barbed arrow was withdrawn by a bold operation which involved much bleeding and threatened immediate death, but gradually Alexander's strong constitution triumphed, and the dangerous wound was healed. The infuriated troops fell upon the unfortunate inhabitants, and slew them all—sparing neither man, woman, nor child.

When convalescent, Alexander was carried to the Hydraōtes, and conveyed by boat to the junction with the Akesinēs, where he met his fleet and army, under the command respectively of Nearchos and Hephaistion.

Submission of Malloi and Oxydrakai.

The survivors of the Malloi, whose nation had felt the full weight of Alexander's hand, now tendered their humble submission, and the Oxydrakai, whom fortunate procrastination had saved, feeling that resistance would be hopeless, purchased the conqueror's clemency by offers of tribute and the delivery of valuable gifts. Alexander, stern and even cruel to those who opposed him, but always courteous and generous to the submissive, readily accepted the proposals, presents, and excuses of the tribal envoys, who are described as dignified men, of uncommon stature, clad in purple and gold, and riding in chariots. The presents are said to have included 1,030 four-horsed chariots, 1,000 bucklers of native manufacture, 100 talents of steel, great store of cotton goods, a quantity of tortoise-shells, the skins of large lizards, with tame lions and tigers, in addition to a contingent of 300 horsemen.[1]

[1] These details are taken from *Curtius*, ix, 8. Arrian (vi, 14) mentions only 500 chariots, but Curtius probably had good authority for his statement. The ancient writers describe Indian cotton as 'linen', which has never been made in India. Steel of peculiarly excellent quality has been produced in India from remote times. Curtius calls it *ferrum candidum*. Tortoise-shell (χελώνη) was still an article of Indian trade in the first century A. D. (Periplus, in *Ind. Ant.* viii, 111). The statement of Curtius (ix, 7) that Alexander imposed upon the Malloi and Oxydrakai 'the tribute which the two nations paid in instalments to the Arachosians' is unintelligible; and the name 'Arachosians' must be corrupt. Arachosia, the Kandahār country, cannot possibly have levied tribute from tribes in the Eastern Panjāb. Bacon makes a curious and inaccurate allusion to the Oxydrakai in his essay 'On the Vicissitudes of Things', quoting loosely from

Voyage to confluence with the Indus.

Philippos was then appointed satrap of the conquered nations; and the fleet, passing the third confluence, where the Hyphasis contributed its waters to the stream, continued its voyage to the fourth confluence, that of the Akesinēs (Chināb), including the Hydaspes (Jihlam), Hydraōtes (Rāvī), and Hyphasis (Biās), with the river which the ancient writers call the Indus. But it is probable that the 'lost river of Sind', the Hakrā or Wahindah, then existed, and that all the Panjāb rivers, including the Indus, joined it, and formed one great stream, afterwards known as the Mihrān of Sind.

Changes in rivers.

It is absolutely impossible to determine the position of any of the confluences in Alexander's time; but, long afterwards, in the days of the early Arab writers, all the rivers met at a place called Dosh-i-āb, or 'the Meeting of the Waters' in territory now belonging to the Bahāwalpur State.[1] Our complete uncertainty as to the courses of the rivers, which have ranged, as the old channels indicate, over a space a hundred and ten miles wide in the region of the final confluence, deprives the remainder of Alexander's river voyage of much of its interest. His course in Upper Sind cannot be indicated even approximately, and it is impossible to fix accurately the position of either the towns or the nations mentioned by the historians.

Administrative arrangements.

The confluence of the combined Panjāb rivers with the 'Indus', wherever it may have been situated, was appointed to be the southern boundary of the satrapy of Philippos, to whom all the Thracians were made over along with an adequate force of infantry to form the garrison of his province. At about the same time the Bactrian nobleman, Oxyartes, father of Alexander's wife, Roxana, was deputed to the Paropanisadae, or the Kābul province, as satrap in succession to Tyriaspes, whose administration had been un-

Philostratos, *Life of Apollonios of Tyana*, ii, c. 33. (*Ind. Ant.*, 1906, p. 335).

[1] Raverty, op. cit., p. 473. The 'Meeting of the Waters' was near Bhagla or Baghlah, which is marked on the India Office map of thirty-two miles to the inch, in approximately N. lat. 28° 20′, E. long. 70° 30′. The four confluences are correctly enumerated by Arrian in *Anab.* vi, 14. The contradictory and unintelligible passage in the same author's *Indika*, ch. 4, is hopelessly corrupt.

satisfactory. A city was founded at the confluence of the rivers with the 'Indus', which Alexander hoped to become prosperous and famous. Dockyards also were constructed. Certain independent tribes, whom Arrian calls Abastanoi, Xathroi or Oxathroi, and Ossadioi, submitted or were subjugated, and it is noted that galleys of thirty oars and transport vessels were built and supplied by the Xathroi.[1] Although it is impossible to determine accurately either the correct names or the true positions of the tribes in Northern Sind mentioned by the various ancient authorities, the region occupied by the tribes referred to seems to be that lying to the north and south of N. lat. 28° and between E. long. 69° and 70° 30′. During this stage of the campaign, Krateros, who hitherto, from the beginning, had always marched on the right, or western, bank of each successive river, was transferred to the left, or eastern bank, which offered greater facilities for movement and was occupied by tribes less hostile than those on the other bank.[2]

[1] Arrian, *Anab*, vi, 15. According to Curtius (ix, 8), Alexander came to a second nation called Malli (whom Mr. McCrindle confounds with the Malloi of the Rāvī), and then to the Sabarcae, a powerful tribe with a democratic form of government and no king. Their army was said to comprise 60,000 foot, 6,000 cavalry, and 500 chariots, under the command of three renowned generals. This nation submitted. The name Xathroi (*v. l.* Oxathroi) looks like a transcription of the Sanskrit Kshatriya. The Sabarcae are called Sambastai by Diodorus, who agrees with Curtius in his account of the government and military force of the tribe. Diodorus (xvii, 102) adds that two other tribes, the Sodrai and Massanoi, occupied both banks of the river, and that a city named Alexandria was founded within their borders, and occupied by a colony of 10,000 men. The attempts made by Mr. McCrindle and many other writers to localize these tribes are necessarily futile, inasmuch as we do not know where the river was. The mention in *Anab.* vi, 15 of Oxyartes as the colleague of Peithōn, satrap of the Lower Indus, is evidently, as Chinnock rightly observes, due to corruption of the text. The Thracians made over to Philippos seem to have been infantry; for the Agrianian light cavalry, who were Thracians, took part in subsequent operations.

[2] The words διὰ τῆς Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Δράγγων γῆς in the passage (Arrian, *Anab.* vi, 15) describing the transfer of Krateros from the right to the left bank were evidently a blundering marginal note which has crept into the text. Krateros was sent from a point above the head of the Delta 'into Karmania by the route through the Arachotoi and Zarangoi' (τὴν ἐπ' Ἀραχωτῶν καὶ Ζαράγγων), as stated in ch. 17. Mr. McCrindle's theory that Krateros was sent, as stated in ch. 15, and subsequently recalled, seems to me very unsatisfactory. I have already noted another corruption in the text of the same chapter,

Kingdom of Mousikanos.

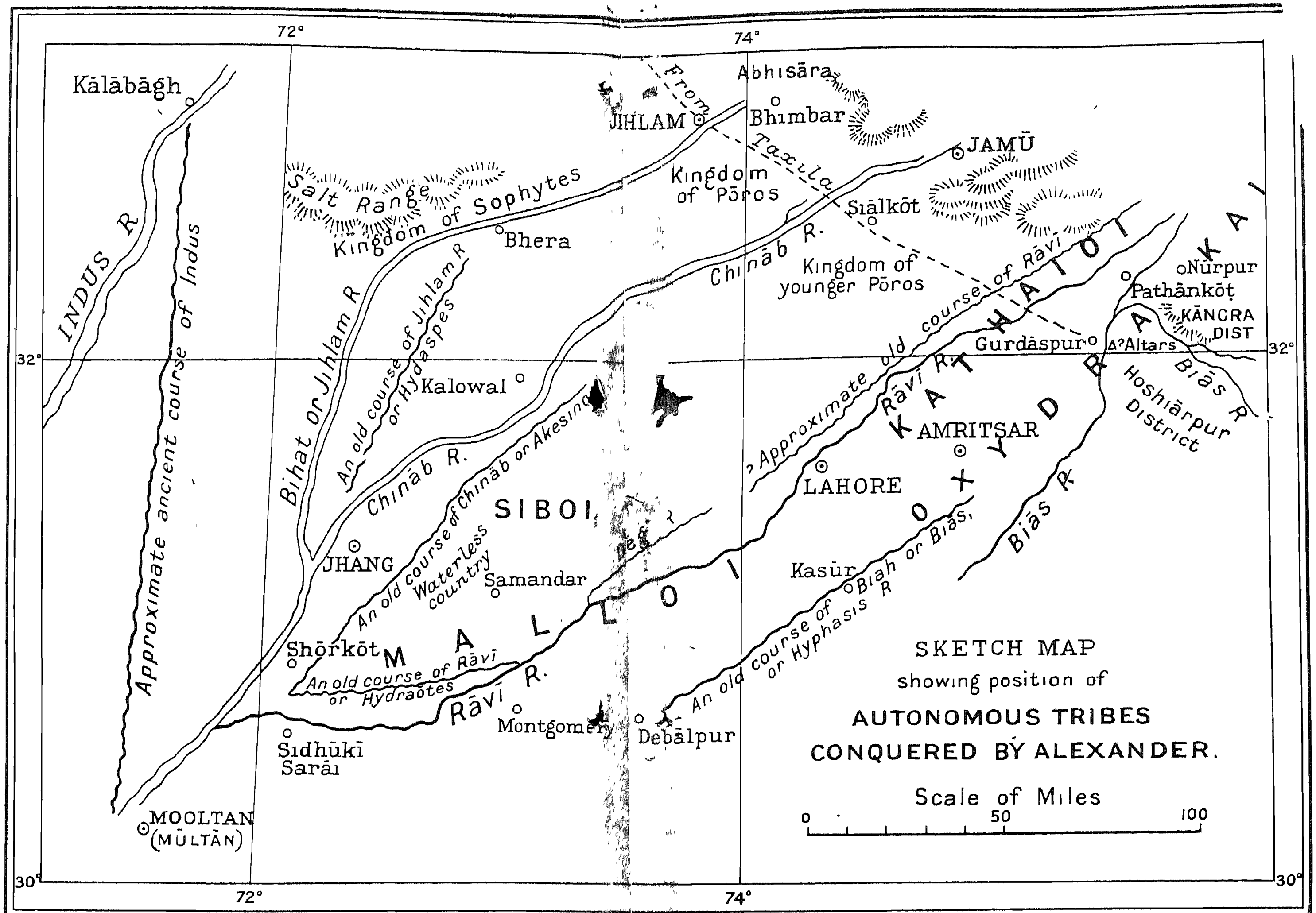
Alexander now hurried on in order to surprise the powerful monarch called Mousikanos by Arrian, who had proudly abstained from sending envoys or presents to the invader. The capital of this stiff-necked king may be probably, although not certainly, identified with Alōr or Arōr, the ancient capital of Sind, now included in the Shikārpur District, and situated in N. lat. 27° 39′, E. long. 68° 59′. The peculiarities of the people of this kingdom excited the surprise and admiration of the Macedonians. The inhabitants were believed to attain the age of a hundred and thirty years, their longevity being the result of good health secured by temperance in diet. Although their country possessed mines of both gold and silver, they refused to make use of either metal. Unlike the other Indians, they kept no slaves, employing in their stead 'young men in the flower of their age, as the Cretans employ the Aphamiōtai, and the Lacedaemonians the Helots'. They also resembled the Lacedaemonians in observing the custom of a public meal, at which the food served was the produce of the chase. They declined to study any science save that of medicine, and were reputed to have no system of civil law, the jurisdiction of the courts being confined to cases of murder and other violent crime.[1]

Submission and revolt of Mousikanos.

King Mousikanos, like the Malloi, being completely surprised by the rapidity of the movements of Alexander, who had reached the frontier before his departure from his last camp had been reported, hastened to meet the conqueror, bringing with him all his elephants and the choicest presents which India could offer. Alexander, with his habitual readiness to accept submission, received the king courteously, expressed much admiration of his capital and realm, and

due probably to the same cause, the absorption into the text of an erroneous gloss.

[1] *Strabo*, xv, 34, 54. Strabo, on the authority of Onesikritos, points out that other authors do not seem to be justified in asserting that slavery was unknown everywhere in India. Megasthenes (Arrian, *Indika*, ch. 10), affirmed it to be a great thing (μέγα) in India that all the Indians were free, and that no Indian slave existed (οὐδέ τινα δοῦλον εἶναι Ἰνδόν). In reality, mild praedial and domestic slavery seems to have been an institution in most parts of India from very remote times. But there was no slavery among the Tamils (V. Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 114).


SKETCH MAP
showing position of
AUTONOMOUS TRIBES
CONQUERED BY ALEXANDER.
Scale of Miles
0
50
100
72°
74°
32°
30°
Kālābāgh
INDUS R
Approximate ancient course of Indus
Salt Range
Kingdom of Sophytes
Bhera
Bihat or Jihlam R
An old course of Jihlam R or Hydaspes
Kalowal
Chināb R.
An old course of Chināb or Akesines
JIHLAM
From Taxila
Abhisāra
Bhimbar
Kingdom of Pōros
JAMŪ
Siālkōt
Kingdom of younger Pōros
Approximate old course of Rāvi
Nūrpur
Pathānkōt
KĀNGRA DIST
?Altars
Gurdāspur
Biās R
Hoshiārpur District
KATHAIOI
OXYDRAKAI
Rāvi R.
AMRITSAR
LAHORE
SIBOI
Waterless country
Samandar
JHANG
Shōrkōt
MALLOI
An old course of Rāvi or Hydraōtes
Rāvi R.
Montgomery
Dēbālpur
Kasūr
An old course of Biah or Biās, or Hyphasis R
Sidhūki Sarāi
MOOLTAN (MŪLTĀN)

confirmed him in his sovereignty. But Mousikanos, acting under the advice of Brahman councillors, quickly repented of his ready submission, and revolted. Peithōn, the son of Agēnōr, who had been appointed satrap of the country to the south of the territory entrusted to Philippos, was sent in pursuit of the rebel;[1] while Alexander in person operated against the towns, some of which were destroyed, while others were occupied by garrisons. Mousikanos, having been captured by Peithōn, was crucified along with the Brahmans who had instigated his defection.[2]

Alexander next marched with a flying column against a chief named Oxykanos, who was taken prisoner. His two principal cities having been sacked, the other towns in the neighbourhood surrendered without attempting resistance; 'so much were the minds of all the Indians paralysed with abject terror by Alexander and the success of his arms.'[3] Another chieftain, named Sambos, whose capital was Sindimana,[4] and who had fled in terror, surrendered; and more Brahmans, who had instigated the revolt of an unnamed town, were executed. It is said that during this campaign on the Lower Indus 80,000 of the natives were killed, and multitudes sold as slaves.

Oxykanos and Sambos.

After the execution of Mousikanos, the ruler of the Delta, which was known to the Greeks as Patalēnē, from its capital Patala, arrived in camp and proffered the submission of his kingdom, which was accepted. He was sent back to his country to prepare for the reception of the expedition.

About the same time Krateros, one of Alexander's most

Krateros sent home.

[1] Peithōn was sole satrap of the Lower Indus, the mention of Oxyartes as his colleague being due to corruption of the text (*ante* p. 97, note 1).

[2] Κρεμάσαι Ἀλέξανδρος κελεύει. Mr. McCrindle translates 'Alexander ordered the rebel to be hanged'; Gronovius renders 'Alexander crucifigi iubet'.

[3] *Οὕτω καὶ Ἰνδοὶ πάντες ἐδεδούλωντο ἤδη τῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης.* The translation is Mr. McCrindle's. Curtius speaks of 'the people known as the Musicani'; calls Oxykanos by the name of Porticanus; and states that his subjects were the Praesti. According to him, Porticanus was slain. The same author states that the troops of Sambos used poisoned swords (ix, 3).

[4] Sindimana may or may not have been Sihwān, with which it is commonly 'identified', for no better reason than that both names begin with S.

trusted lieutenants, was detached with orders to conduct a large portion of the army into Karmania by the route leading through the territories of Arachosia (Kandahār) and Drangiana (Sīstān). The troops entrusted to Krateros comprised the brigades (τάξεις) of Attalos, Meleager, and Antigenes, besides some of the archers, the 'companions' or guards, and other Macedonians unfit for further active service. The elephants also accompanied this force.

Alexander's advance to Patala.

Alexander in person retained the command of the troops serving as marines, while Hephaistion was given supreme command of the rest of the army, which advanced on the right bank of the river. Krateros, who had been transferred to the left bank in Upper Sind, had, of course, been obliged to recross the stream in order to begin his homeward march. His place on the left bank was now taken by Peithōn, son of Agēnōr, who was given a mounted force of lancers and Agrianians, with instructions to place colonists in certain fortified towns, to suppress attempts at insurrection, maintain order, and ultimately rejoin Alexander at Patala. The prince (ὕπαρχος) and people of that city fled in terror, but were mostly reassured and induced to return to their homes (Arrian, *Anab.* vi, 17).

Patala.

The position of the city of Patala has been much disputed; but the best opinion is that it was at or near the very ancient site of Bahmanābād, situated in approximately N. lat. 25° 50′ and E. long. 68° 50′, some six miles westward from the more modern city of Mansūriya. The apex of the Delta was probably near Kalari, about forty miles north of Bahmanābād, in approximately N. lat. 26° 40′ and E. long. 68° 30′. For the discussion of Alexander's movements the identity of Patala and Bahmanābād may be assumed, although it cannot be fully proved.[1]

[1] Bahmanābād, Bahmannih, or Bahmannū, *not* Brahmanābād, as commonly and erroneously written. Under the name of Bahmanābād it was founded by Bahman, son of Isfandiyār, 'in the time of Gushtāsib, ruler of Īrān-Zamīn.' Bahman is another name of Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Ahasuerus, who reigned from about 465 to 425 B. C. (Raverty, *Notes*, p. 510; Reinaud, *Ind. Ant.*, viii, 336). He was the grandson of Gushtāsib. But the site is much more ancient, and includes extensive prehistoric remains (*Progress Report, Arch.*

Alexander, considering Patala to be a position of high strategical importance, caused Hephaistion to construct a citadel there and to dig wells in the adjoining region. He proposed to make a great naval station at the point where the river divided, and remained sufficiently long on the spot to see some progress made in the construction of a roadstead and dockyard. He then resolved to explore personally both arms of the river down to the sea, and first sailed down the western or right branch, which probably debouched near or below Dēbal, the ancient port of Sind, distant about fifteen miles from Thathah (Tatta). His sailors, accustomed to the tideless waters of the Mediterranean, were thrown into a state of great alarm and confusion by the ebb and flow of the tide, but ultimately Alexander succeeded in pushing on with some of the fastest vessels, and reaching the open sea. He sailed out a few miles into the deep, sacrificed bulls to Poseidon, and followed up the sacrifice by a libation, casting the golden vessels used in the ceremony into the ocean as a thank-offering.[1]

Exploration of Delta.

He then returned to Patala, where he found the works

Preparations for leaving India.

Survey W. I. for 1896–7, par. 30–50; ibid., for 1903–4, pp. 133–44). The site of Bahmanābād was discovered by Mr. Bellasis in 1854 (*Jo. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, Jan., 1856) Mansūriya has been built from, and partly on, the ruins of the primitive city. Raverty's discursive note 105 (op. cit., pp. 196–205) gives much information. For the position of the apex of the Delta, and the city of Patala, see ibid. pp. 226, 461, 462. General Haig, who greatly underestimates the growth of the Delta, is certainly wrong in placing Patala below the latitude of Hyderabad (N. lat. 25° 23′ 5″, E. long. 68° 24′ 51″). The same writer was not aware of the evidence which leads Major Raverty to place the most ancient known apex of the Delta forty miles above Bahmanābād (*The Indus Delta Country*, pp. 1, 129, 135, 136, Kegan Paul & Co., 1894). Most books (e.g. Balfour's *Cyclopaedia*) erroneously identify Patala with Hyderabad.

[1] Curtius (ix, 9) gives a spirited and detailed account of the voyage from Patala to the sea Thatha (Tatta) is in N. lat. 24° 44′, E. long. 68°. In the seventeenth century (*Sir Thomas Herbert*, *Thevenot*, *&c.*) Dēbal or Dēwal was the southernmost town in Sind, and a much frequented seaport, distant fifteen miles from Thathah. The town has now utterly disappeared; but it must have stood very near to the shrine of Pīr Patho, at the foot of the Makkahlī hills, and near the Bhāgar branch of the Indus, which was in those days a very great stream (Raverty, op. cit., pp. 317–31, note 315). But Major Raverty (p. 321) makes a slip in saying that Herbert landed at 'Diul.' He landed at 'Swalley Road', off Sūrat (*Travels*, ed. 1677, p. 42). Diul is mentioned by him on p. 80 as a port.

of the new naval station well advanced, and proceeded to explore the eastern, or left, branch of the river. Near its mouth he passed through a large lake, apparently that now known as the Samārāh lake to the west of Amarkōt, and again reached the sea-shore in about latitude 25°.[1] Having spent three days in reconnoitring the coast and arranging for the construction of wells, he returned to Patala. Harbours and docks were built on the shores of the lake, and furnished with garrisons. Provisions to supply the forces for four months were collected, and all other necessary preparations were made for the two bold enterprises which he had planned; the voyage of the fleet along the coast to the Persian Gulf, and his own march with the army through Gedrosia in a direction, so far as might be practicable, parallel to the course of the fleet.

Alexander's plans.

His plans were conceived upon a comprehensive scale. Nearchos, the admiral who had successfully commanded the flotilla during the ten months' voyage from Jihlam to the sea, was instructed to bring the fleet round the coast into the Persian Gulf as far as the mouth of the Euphrates, and to record careful observations of the strange lands and seas which he should visit. Alexander himself proposed to conduct

[1] For an account of the Samārāh lake, see Raverty, op. cit., pp. 465, 477. It is marked as Samaro on the India Office map. In Alexander's time the Ran (Runn) of Cutch (Kachchh) must have been an estuary of the sea, extending northward to about parallel 25°, where the eastern arm of the great river fell into it. The lake was only a short distance from the mouth of the river (Arrian, *Anab.* vi, 20). The coast-line has extended enormously. The spot called Mughalbīn, where Akbar's officer, in Queen Elizabeth's time, stood to get a view of the ocean, is now quite fifty miles from the sea. Further west, at Somniyāni, near the Purāli (Arabios) river, the coast has advanced at least twenty miles since Alexander's time. Most of the land to the south of Badīn, which stands in about N. lat. 24° 40′, has been formed since the reign of Akbar: the coast-line had a mean latitude of about 24° 30′ in the eighth century when the Arab conquest took place. In Alexander's time, a thousand years earlier, the coast-line was, of course, considerably further north, but no man can delineate it with any approach to accuracy. The parallel of 25° may be taken as an approximate definition of the coast reconnoitred by Alexander. The land at the Kohrāī mouth (vulgo 'Khori Creek') now extends to about 23° 30′. (See Raverty, op. cit., pp. 468, 469, 470, 477, &c., and Haig, op. cit., pp. 136, 139; and a good paper by Mr. R. Sivewright, 'Cutch and the Ran,' *Geogr. Journal*, vol. xxix (1907), p. 518).

the army back to Persia through the wilds of the country then called Gedrosia, and now known as Mukrān, hitherto untrodden save by the legendary hosts of Semiramis and Cyrus. The king, who was independent of the winds, started on his march about the beginning of October, 325 B.C. Nearchos, being obliged to watch for the change of the monsoon, did not leave his anchorage in the river until two or three weeks later.[1]

October, 325 B.C.

Gedrosia.

Although Gedrosia has usually remained outside the Indian political system, the province, or part of it, has been included from time to time within the dominions of the sovereigns of Hind, and its history cannot be regarded as altogether foreign to the history of India. But the satrapy of Gedrosia undoubtedly lay beyond the limits of India proper, and a summary narrative of the adventures met with by Nearchos on its coast and his sovereign in its deserts will be sufficient to complete the story of Alexander's Indian campaign.

Alexander's Haven.

Nearchos was detained for several days in the river, and, after much difficulty in making a passage for the ships round a bar, which obstructed the mouth of the western branch, ultimately got out to sea.[2] Contrary winds detained him for twenty-four days in a secure harbour, to which he gave the name of Alexander's Haven. The coast-line has been changed so much by both accretion and denudation that attempts at detailed identifications of places near the mouth of the river are waste of time, but it is safe to affirm that the haven where Nearchos found shelter was not very far from the modern Karāchī (Kurrachee). The admiral then

[1] Nearchos is said to have started from his anchorage in the river on the twentieth day of the Athenian month Boëdromion (Sept.-Oct.), 325 B.C. This date seems to be correct. Alexander may have begun his march two or three weeks earlier. Aristoboulos (*Strabo*, xv, 17) is the authority for the descent of the rivers having lasted ten months. Patala was reached 'about the rising of the dog-star', July-August. The operations carried out at, or conducted from, Patala, must have occupied a considerable time.

[2] 'Bar,' ἕρμα (*Indika*, 21). Some authors base 'identifications' on the translation of ἕρμα by 'rock'. Arrian goes on to say that Nearchos dug a channel through 'the softer part of the bar', ἵναπερ μαλθακὸν ἦν τοῦ ἕρματος.

crept cautiously along the inhospitable coast, his crews often suffering severely from lack of provisions and fresh water. After travelling a hundred miles or so (850 *stadia*), the fleet reached the mouth of the river Arabis (the Purāli), which formed the boundary between the Arabioi, the last people of Indian descent settled in this direction, and the Oreitai, who occupied an extensive territory to the west of the river.[1]

The Oreitai.

Having traversed an estimated distance of 800 *stadia* more, the fleet reached a place called Kokala, where the wearied crews were allowed to disembark and enjoy much needed rest. While the sailors were reposing here in a fortified camp (*Indika*, 23), Nearchos came into touch with Leonnātos, whom Alexander had detached with a field force to subdue the Oreitai (*Anab.* vi, 22). News arrived that a great battle had been fought in which Leonnātos had defeated the natives with terrible slaughter. The Oreitai are said to have lost 6,000 men and all their leaders out of a total force of 8,000 foot and 300 horse.[2] The Macedonian loss, although numerically small, was noteworthy because it included the colleague of Leonnātos, Apollophanes, who had recently been appointed Satrap of the country.[3] Communications between Leonnātos and Nearchos having been established, the fleet was repaired and victualled, and sailors who had proved inefficient at sea were drafted into the army, their places being taken by men selected from the troops under the command of Leonnātos.

The savages.

Continuing their voyage westward, the ships passed along the coast near the mouth of the river Tomēros,[4] which was inhabited by a race of savages, ignorant of the use of iron, and armed only with wooden spears charred at the point to harden them. These wild men were covered with shaggy

[1] The course of the Arabis, or Arabios, has changed considerably.

[2] *Curtius*, ix, 9.

[3] Arrian, *Indika*, 23. But the same author asserts in *Anabasis*, vi, 27, that Alexander, after his arrival at the Gedrosian capital, Poura (mod. Bāmpur), deposed Apollophanes from his satrapy, because he had utterly disregarded his instructions. Arrian then goes on to say that Thoas, who was appointed successor, soon died, and was succeeded by Sibyrtios. Curtius (ix, 10) asserts that the predecessor of Sibyrtios was Memnon, who was 'cut off by some malady'. I cannot reconcile these discrepancies.

[4] Now the Hingol.

hair all over the body, and had claw-like nails strong enough to rip up fish and to split the softer kinds of wood. Their clothing was made of the skins of wild beasts or those of the larger fishes. After a skirmish with the savages, the fleet delayed for five days to effect repairs, and on the sixth day reached the rocky headland named Malana (now Rās Malin), the western boundary of the Oreitai, who were not savages, but were dressed and armed like the inhabitants of India, although differing from them in language and customs.[1]

When the Malana cape had been passed, the inland people were known as Gedrosioi, and no longer as Oreitai.[2] The inhabitants of the coast continued to astonish the voyagers by their strange manners and customs. 'These poor wretches,' we are told, 'had nothing but fish to live on,' and so they were dubbed Ichthyophagoi, or 'Fish-eaters', by the Greeks —what the real name of the race may have been is not known. Whales, which were numerous along this coast, although very alarming to the sailors of the fleet, were extremely useful to the natives on shore, and supplied the materials for the better houses, which were built of whales' bones, the huge jaws serving as doorways.

The Gedrosioi and Ichthyophagoi

The seamen on board the ships of Nearchos, being superstitious like the sailors of all ages and countries, were much frightened at the weird tales told about an uninhabited island, which Arrian calls Nosala (*Indika*, 31), and is now known as Astola or Astalu. It lies nearly midway between Urmera and Pasni headlands, and is to this day as much an object of dread to the Med fishermen as it was long ago to the Greek sailors.[3]

Enchanted isle.

[1] Diodorus agrees that the Oreitai in most respects closely resembled the Indians, but adds that they were in the habit of stripping the dead and exposing the bodies in the jungles to be devoured by the wild beasts.

[2] Arrian here uses the term Gedrosioi in a sense narrower than that of Strabo, who, when describing Ariāna (xv, ch. ii, 8, 9), seems to bring Gedrosia as far east as the Indus. No real discrepancy exists; the Satrapy of Gedrosia doubtless included the country of the Oreitai and Arabioi, as well as Gedrosia proper. The Oreitai are supposed to be now represented by the Lumri tribes of Las Bela, who claim Rājpūt descent. The Gadurs, one of the Lumri clans, may represent the Gedrosioi.

[3] Holdich, *The Indian Borderland* (Methuen, 1901), p. 206. On

Arrival of fleet at Ormuz.

Thus threading their way through all dangers, real or imaginary, the explorers made their way to a port called Badis, near Cape Jask at the entrance to the Straits of Ormuz, and so came into touch with the more civilized province of Karmania. Proceeding through the straits, the delighted mariners found themselves at Harmozeia (Ormuz), a charming place, producing everything that they wanted, except olives. Here the men came ashore and were gratefully enjoying their rest, when some of the more adventurous spirits strolled inland, and were astounded to meet a stranger wearing Greek clothes and speaking Greek. Tears came to their eyes as they heard the familiar sounds of home in that strange and distant land. Explanations having been exchanged, the stranger proved to be a straggler from Alexander's army, and gave the welcome information that the king was only five days' march distant.

Meeting of Nearchos and Alexander.

Nearchos and Archias at once arranged to go inland to meet their sovereign, and, after many difficulties, made their way to his presence, but so ragged and unkempt were they, that Alexander at first could not recognize them. When at last he was convinced of his friends' identity, he assumed hastily that they must be the sole miserable survivors from his lost fleet, and was in despair at the imagined disaster. But he was soon reassured by Nearchos, who told him that the ships were safe and sound, hauled up at the mouth of the Anamis river for repairs.

Voyage to the Tigris.

The admiral, having volunteered to conduct the fleet up the Gulf to Sūsa, returned to the coast, to which he was obliged to fight his way, and thence sailed on, with little adventure, to the mouth of the Euphrates. He then heard of Alexander's approach to Sūsa, and turning back, entered

the whole, according to this author, the coast-line of Mukrān is not greatly changed, and most of the ports and landing-places visited by Nearchos can be identified, although many islands have been destroyed by erosion. The name of the province, which is generally spelt Mekrān, is written Mukrān by Major Raverty, who may be depended upon for accuracy in such matters. Holdich's lecture entitled 'A Retreat from India' (*J. United Service Inst. India*, 1894, p. 112, with map) is the best modern authority for the details of the Gedrosian march.

the Tigris to meet him, and 'it was thus that the expedition which had started from the mouth of the Indus was brought in safety to Alexander' (Arrian, *Indika*, 42).

Sufferings of Alexander's army.

The difficulties encountered by the army under the command of Alexander were even greater than those met and overcome by the fleet under Nearchos. The king seems to have been ignorant of the existence of the Hala range of mountains, which terminates in Cape Malin. This great obstacle, which he was obliged to turn, deranged his plans, and compelled him to penetrate far into the interior, and for a time to lose touch with the fleet. The army suffered agonies from thirst, and the unfortunate followers perished by thousands. 'The blazing heat and want of water,' Arrian tell us, 'destroyed a great part of the army, and especially the beasts of burden, which perished from the great depth of the sand, and the heat which scorched like fire, while a great many died of thirst.' Ultimately, the remnant of the force worked its way back to the coast, emerging near the harbour of Pasni, almost on the line where the telegraph wire now runs, and its sufferings were at an end. But the soldiers had been obliged 'to burn the rich spoils taken from their enemies, for the sake of which they had marched to the utmost extremities of the East'. The success of the general was the ruin of the private.

Revolt in Panjāb.

While the army was still in Karmania, a report was received that Philippos, satrap of the Indian provinces north of the confluence of the Akesinēs with the Indus, had been treacherously murdered by his mercenary troops. Although this disquieting communication was accompanied by the information that the murderers had been slain by the satrap's Macedonian body-guard, Alexander was not then in a position to make permanent arrangements, and was obliged to content himself with sending a dispatch to India directing Ambhi, king of Taxila, and Eudāmos, commandant of a Thracian contingent on the Upper Indus (*Curtius*, x, 1, 11), to assume the administration of the province until a satrap could be appointed in due course. The death of Alexander at Babylon in the following year (June.

323 B.C.)[1] effectually prevented any attempt being made to retain effective control over the conquered countries east of the Indus.

India abandoned by Macedonian government.

When the second partition of the empire was effected at Triparadeisos in 321 B.C., Antipater practically recognized the independence of India by appointing the native kings Pōros and Āmbhi as a matter of form to the charge of the Indus valley and Panjāb. Peithōn, whom Alexander had appointed Satrap of the Indus Delta, was transferred to the provinces 'which bordered on the Paropanisadai', i.e. to Arachosia, &c., west of the Indus, and India was abandoned by the Macedonian government in reality, though not in name.[2] Eudāmos, alone of the Macedonian officers, retained some authority in the Indus valley until 317.[3]

Duration of Alexander's campaign.

The Indian expedition of Alexander may be said to have lasted for three years, from May, 327 B.C., when he crossed the Hindū Kush, to May, 324 B.C., when he entered Sūsa. Out of this period, about nineteen months were spent in India east of the Indus, from March, 326 B.C., when he crossed the bridge at Ohind, until September or October in the following year, when he entered the territory of the Arabioi.

The genius of Alexander.

Looked at merely from the soldier's point of view, the achievements wrought in that brief space of time are marvellous and incomparable. The strategy, tactics, and organization of the operations give the reader of the story the impression that in all these matters perfection was attained. The professional military critic may justly blame Alexander,

[1] The attempts of German scholars to fix the precise day of the month are based on insufficient data (Hogarth, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon*, Appendix).

[2] *Diodorus*, xviii, 39 'Antipater then divided the satrapies anew . . . and gave India, which bordered on the Paropanisadai, to Peithōn, the son of Agēnōr, and of the adjacent kingdoms he gave that which lay along the Indus to Pōros, and that along the Hydaspes to Taxiles, for it was impossible to remove their kings without royal troops under the command of some distinguished general.' In this passage the names of Pōros and Taxiles (i.e. Āmbhi, king of Taxila) evidently have been transposed. The Indus valley would naturally fall to the share of the Taxilan king, rather than to Pōros, whose dominions lay to the east of the Hydaspes.

[3] Arrian (*Anab.* vi, 27) writes Εὔδημος; Diodorus (xix, 14) writes Εὔδαμος.

as his own officers blamed him, for excessive display of personal heroism, and needless exposure to danger of the precious life upon which the safety of the whole army depended; but criticism is silenced by admiration, and by the reflection that the example set by the king's reckless daring was of incalculable value as a stimulus and encouragement to troops often ready to despair of success.

Three great enterprises.

The descent of the rivers to the ocean through the territories of civilized and well-armed nations, admittedly the best soldiers in the east, and the voyage of Nearchos from the Indus to the Tigris, may fairly be described as unqualified successes. The third great enterprise, the retirement of the army led by Alexander in person through Gedrosia[1] would have been equally prosperous, but for the occurrence of physical difficulties, which could not be foreseen, owing to the imperfection of the information at the king's command. But even this operation was not a failure. Notwithstanding the terrible privations endured and the heavy losses suffered, the army emerged from the deserts as an organized and disciplined force, and its commander's purpose was attained.

Substantial success.

On the whole, Alexander's Indian campaign was a success. It was not really marred by the mutiny at the Hyphasis. If his soldiers had permitted him to plunge more deeply into the interior, he would probably have been unable to maintain the communication with his European base on which his safety depended, and his small, isolated force might have been overwhelmed by the mere numbers of his adversaries. Koinos and his fellow remonstrants may be credited with having prevented the annihilation of the Macedonian army.

Asiatic weakness.

The triumphant progress of Alexander from the Himalaya to the sea demonstrated the inherent weakness of the greatest Asiatic armies when confronted with European skill and discipline. The dreaded elephants lost their terrors, and proved to be a poor defence against the Macedonian cavalry. The unopposed march of Krateros from Sind to Persia through Sīstān opened up an alternative land route and solved the problem of easy overland communication with

[1] Gedrosia (*Strabo* and *Pliny*); Gadrosia (Γαδρωσία, *Arrian*).

Europe. The circumnavigation of the coast by Nearchos gave Alexander a third line of communication by sea, and, if he had lived, there is no reason to suppose that he would have experienced serious difficulty in retaining his hold upon the Panjāb and Sind.

Effects of Alexander's death.

All his proceedings prove conclusively that he intended the permanent annexation of those provinces to his empire, and the measures which he took for the purpose were apparently adequate to ensure success. But Alexander's premature death destroyed the fruits of his well-planned and successful enterprise. Within three years of his departure, his officers had been ousted, his garrisons destroyed, and all trace of his rule had disappeared. The colonies which he founded in India, unlike those established in the other Asiatic provinces, took no root. The campaign, although carefully designed to secure a permanent conquest, was in actual effect no more than a brilliantly successful raid on a gigantic scale, which left upon India no mark save the horrid scars of bloody war.

India unchanged.

India remained unchanged. The wounds of battle were quickly healed; the ravaged fields smiled again as the patient oxen and no less patient husbandmen resumed their interrupted labours; and the places of the slain myriads were filled by the teeming swarms of a population, which knows no limit save those imposed by the cruelty of man, or the still more pitiless operations of nature. India was not hellenized. She continued to live her life of 'splendid isolation', and soon forgot the passing of the Macedonian storm.[1] No Indian author, Hindu, Buddhist, or Jain, makes even the faintest allusion to Alexander or his deeds.

[1] The paradox of Niese to the effect that the whole subsequent development of India was dependent upon Alexander's institutions is not, I think, true in any sense, or supported by a single fact. His words are: 'Man kann daher mit Recht behaupten, dass von den Einrichtungen Alexanders die ganze weitere Entwickelung Indiens abhangig gewesen ist' (*Geschichte der griechischen und makedonischen Staaten seit der Schlacht bei Chaeronea*, I. Teil, p. 508; Gotha, 1893). The often-quoted lines by Matthew Arnold (*Obermann*) are much more to the point:—

'The East bowed low before the blast
In patient, deep disdain;
She let the legions thunder past,
And plunged in thought again.'

CHRONOLOGY OF THE INDIAN CAMPAIGN OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

From May, 327, to May, 324 B.C.

DATE B.C.	EVENT.
327	**The Advance.**
Early in May .	Passage of Hindū Kush mountains over the Khāwak and Kaoshān passes.
June . .	From Nikaia (Jalālābād), Alexander with picked force proceeds to the subjugation of the mountains; Hephaistion with rest of army advancing to the Indus through the valley of the Kābul river.
August .	Capture of stronghold of Astes (Hasti) by Hephaistion after thirty days' siege.
September . .	Alexander subdivides his force, advancing in person against the Aspasians; he crosses the Gouraios (Panjkora) river, captures Massaga of the Assakenians (probably Manglaur on Suwāt river), and massacres 7,000 Indian mercenaries.
November . .	Siege of Aornos.
December . .	Capture of Aornos.
326	
January . . .	Arrival of Alexander at bridge-head at Ohind.
January to February	Halt of army for thirty days.
February or March	Passage of Indus 'in beginning of spring'; halt at Taxila.
April	Advance eastward.
May	Arrival at the Hydaspes (Jihlam) river.
Beginning of July	Battle of the Hydaspes; defeat of Pōros.
July	Foundation of Nikaia and Boukephala; passage of the Akesinēs (Chināb) river near the foot of the hills.
August . . .	Passage of the Hydraōtes (Rāvī) river, and conflict with the Kathaeans.
September . .	Arrival at the Hyphasis (Biās) river; refusal of army to proceed further.
	The Retreat.
Sept.-October .	Retirement to the Hydaspes (Jihlam) river.
End of October	Commencement of voyage down the rivers, and of march of army escorting the fleet.
325	
January . . .	Collapse of the Mallian power.
Till September .	Voyage continued, fighting with the Sogdoi, Sambos, Mousikanos, &c.
Beginning of October	Departure of Alexander to march through Gedrosia.
End of October	Nearchos starts on voyage to the Persian Gulf.

DATE. B. C	EVENT.
324	
Early in January	Arrival of Alexander at Poura (Bāmpur), the Gedrosian capital, sixty days distant from Ora.
January . . .	Halt of army at Poura.
February . .	March through Karmania, about 300 miles.
End of April or beginning of May	Arrival at Sūsa in Persia, after about 500 miles of marching from western frontier of Karmania
323	
June . . .	**Death of Alexander at Babylon.**

NOTE.—The time spent by Alexander in India proper, from his passage of the Indus in March, 326, until his departure for Gedrosia in the end of September or the beginning of October, 325, was about nineteen months. The voyage down the river occupied about ten months out of this period, and the march from India to Sūsa was effected in about seven months. The march from the Bactrian frontier, that is to say, the Hindū Kush, to the Indus, and the subjugation of the mountain tribes on the north-western frontier of India were completed in ten months.

I. May, 327, to February, 326, inclusive : march from Hindū Kush to Indus, about ten months.

II. March, 326, to September, 325, inclusive . in India proper, nearly nineteen months.

III. October, 325, to April, 324, inclusive : march to Sūsa, seven months

TOTAL DURATION OF EXPEDITION, THREE YEARS.

CHAPTER V

CHANDRAGUPTA MAURYA AND BINDUSARA, FROM 321 B.C. TO 272 B.C.

Eudāmos.

WHEN Alexander quitted the Panjāb he posted no Macedonian garrisons in that province, making over the care of his interests to king Pōros, who must have been independent in practice. Āmbhi, king of Taxila, was also entrusted with authority as a colleague of Pōros. After the assassination of Philippos, Alexander had sent orders from Karmania to Eudāmos, commandant of a Thracian garrison on the Indus, to act as Resident pending the appointment of a satrap and to supervise the native princes. But the officer had no adequate force at his command to enforce his authority, which must have been purely nominal. He managed, however, to remain in India, probably somewhere in the basin of the Indus, until about 317 B.C., when he departed to help Eumenes against Antigonos, taking with him a hundred and twenty elephants, and a small force of infantry and cavalry. He had obtained the elephants by treacherously slaying a native prince, perhaps Pōros, with whom he had been associated as a colleague.[1]

Peithōn, &c.

The province of Sind, on the Lower Indus, below the great confluence of the rivers, which had been entrusted by Alexander to Peithōn, son of Agēnōr, remained under Greek influence for a period still shorter. At the time of the second partition of the Macedonian empire in 321 B.C. at Triparadeisos, Antipater was avowedly unable to exercise any effective control over the Indian Rājas,[2] and Peithōn

[1] Εκ δὲ τῆς 'Ινδικῆς Εὔδαμος παρεγένετο μεθ' ἱππέων μὲν πεντακοσίων [v. l. τριακοσίων], πεζῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων [v. l. τριακοσίων], ἐλεφάντων δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τὰ δὲ θηρία ταῦτα παρέλαβε μετὰ τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, δολοφονήσας Πῶρον ? [v. l. πρῶτον], τὸν βασιλέα (*Diodorus*, xix, 14).

[2] Οὐ γὰρ ἦν τούτους τοὺς βασιλεῖς μετακινῆσαι χωρὶς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἐπιφανοῦς (*Diodorus*, xviii, 39).

had been obliged already to retire to the west of the Indus. The Indian provinces to the east of the river were consequently ignored in the partition, and Peithōn was content to accept the government of the regions bordering on the Paropanisadai, or Kābul country. That country probably continued to be administered by Roxana's father Oxyartes, whom Alexander had appointed satrap. Sibyrtios was confirmed in the government of Arachosia and Gedrosia; Stasandros, the Cyprian, was given Aria and Drangiana, and his countryman Stasanor was appointed governor of Bactria and Sogdiana.[1] These arrangements clearly prove that in 321 B.C., within two years of Alexander's death, the Greek power, to the east of the Indus, had been extinguished, with the slight exception of the small territory, wherever it may have been, which Eudāmos managed to hold for some four years longer.

Native revolt.

The insecurity of the Macedonian authority in the newly annexed Indian provinces had been proved by the assassination of Philippos, the report of which was received while Alexander was in Karmania, and might be expected to return some day to the scene of his victories. His death in June, 323 B.C., dispelled all fears of his return, and the native princes undoubtedly took the earliest possible opportunity to assert their independence and exterminate the weak foreign garrisons. The news of Alexander's decease was known in India probably as early as August, but no serious fighting would have been undertaken by ordinary commanders until the beginning of the cold season in October; for Alexander's indifference to climatic conditions was not shared by Indian chiefs, who were accustomed to regulate their military movements strictly in accordance with precedent. We may feel assured that as soon as the news of the conqueror's death had been confirmed beyond doubt, and the season permitted the execution of military opera-

[1] Ἀρίαν δὲ καὶ Δραγγιάνην Στασάνδρῳ τῷ Κυπρίῳ· τὴν δὲ Βακτριανὴν καὶ Σογδιανὴν Στασάνορι τῷ Σολίῳ, ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντι νήσου (*Diodorus*, xviii, 9). Mr. McCrindle (*Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, 2nd ed. p. 411) confounds these two officers.

tions with facility, a general rising took place, and that Macedonian authority in India was at an end early in 322 B.C., except the small remnant to which Eudāmos continued to cling.

The leader of the revolt against the foreigners was an able adventurer, Chandragupta by name, at that time a young man, probably not more than twenty-five years of age. Although he was on the father's side a scion of the royal house of Magadha—the principal state in Northern India—his mother was of lowly origin, and, in accordance with Hindu law, he belonged to her caste, and had to bear the reproach of inferior social rank. The family name Maurya, assumed by the members of the dynasty founded by Chandragupta, is said to be a derivative from Murā, his mother's name. In some way or other young Chandragupta incurred the displeasure of his kinsman, Mahāpadma Nanda, the reigning king of Magadha, and was obliged to go into exile.[1] During his banishment he had the good fortune to see Alexander, and is said to have expressed the opinion that the Macedonian king, if he had advanced, would have made an easy conquest of the great kingdom on the Ganges, by reason of the extreme unpopularity of the reigning monarch.[2] Mahāpadma Nanda was reputed to be the son of a barber, who had secured the affections of the late queen. The guilty pair had then murdered the king, whose throne was seized by the barber-paramour. His son, the now reigning monarch, was avaricious and profligate, and naturally possessed few friends.

Early life of Chandragupta.

Chandragupta, having collected, during his exile, a formidable force of the warlike and predatory clans on the north-western frontier, attacked the Macedonian garrisons immediately after Alexander's death, and conquered the

Usurpation of throne of Magadha. 322 B.C.

[1] 'He was born in humble life . . . when by his insolent behaviour he had offended Nandrus [= Nanda], and was ordered by that king to be put to death, he sought safety by a speedy flight' (*Justin*, xv, 4, with von Gutschmid's emendation of *Nandrum* for *Alexandrum*, McCrindle, pp. 327, 405). The *Mudrā Rākshasa* play lays great emphasis on the low-caste origin of Chandragupta, and on his relationship to the Nanda king. In these matters I am convinced that the play is based on genuine tradition.

[2] Plutarch, *Alexander*, ch. 62.

Panjāb. He then turned his victorious arms against his enemy, the king of Magadha;[1] and taking advantage of that monarch's unpopularity, dethroned and slew him, utterly exterminating every member of his family. His adviser in this revolution was a subtle Brahman named Chānakya, by whose aid he succeeded in seizing the vacant throne. But the people did not gain much by the change of masters, because Chandragupta, 'after his victory, forfeited by his tyranny all title to the name of liberator, oppressing with servitude the very people whom he had emancipated from foreign thraldom.' He inherited from his Nanda predecessor a huge army, which he increased until it numbered 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants, 600,000 infantry, and a multitude of chariots. With this irresistible force, all the Northern States, probably as far as the Narbadā, or even farther, were overrun and subjugated; so that the dominions of Chandragupta, the first historical paramount sovereign or Emperor in India, extended from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

Invasion of Seleukos Nikātor. While Chandragupta was engaged in the consolidation of his empire, a rival was laying the foundations of his power in Western and Central Asia, and preparing to attempt the recovery of Alexander's Indian conquests. In the course of the internecine struggle between the generals of Alexander, two had emerged as competitors for supreme power in Asia—Antigonos and Seleukos, who afterwards became known as Nikātor, or the Conqueror. Fortune at first favoured Antigonos, and drove his antagonist into exile; but, in

312 B.C. 312 B.C., Seleukos recovered possession of Babylon, and six years later felt himself justified in assuming the regal style and title. He is conventionally described as king of Syria, but was in reality the lord of Western and Central Asia.[2] The eastern provinces of his realm extended to the borders of India; and he naturally desired to recover the Mace-

[1] As already observed (p. 39, note 2), some authors hold that the conquest of the Panjāb was subsequent to the usurpation of the throne of Magadha.

[2] See Mr. Bevan's work, *The House of Seleucus*.

donian conquests in that country, which had been practically abandoned, although never formally relinquished. In pursuit of this object Seleukos crossed the Indus in 305 B.C., and attempted to imitate the victorious march of Alexander.[1] The details of the campaign are not known, and it is impossible to determine how far the invading army penetrated into the Gangetic valley, if at all, but the result of the war is certain. 305 B.C.

Treaty between Seleukos and Chandragupta.

When the shock of battle came, the hosts of Chandragupta were too strong for the invader, and Seleukos was obliged to retire and conclude a humiliating peace. Not only was he compelled to abandon all thought of conquest in India, but he was constrained to surrender a large part of Ariāna to the west of the Indus. In exchange for the comparatively trifling equivalent of five hundred elephants, Chandragupta received the satrapies of the Paropanisadai, Aria, and Arachosia, the capitals of which were respectively the cities now known as Kābul, Herāt, and Kandahār. The satrapy of Gedrosia, or at least the eastern portion of it, seems also to have been included in the cession, and the high contracting powers ratified the peace by 'a matrimonial alliance', which phrase probably means that Seleukos gave a daughter to his Indian rival. This treaty may be dated in 303 B.C. As soon as it was concluded Seleukos started 303 B.C.
on his long march westward to confront Antigonos, whom he defeated and slew at Ipsos in Phrygia in 301 B.C.[2] Ipsos 301 B.C.

[1] 'Transitum deinde in Indiam fecit,' &c. (*Justin*, xv, 4); καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ [Chandragupta], βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο (Appian, *Syr.* 55). Strabo (bk. ii, ch. ii, 9) substitutes for the last two words, συνθέμενος ἐπιγαμίαν.

[2] Niese's notion that Chandragupta recognized the sovereignty of Seleukos (*die Oberhoheit des Seleukos anerkannte*) has no foundation, except the anecdote that Chandragupta paid honour to the altars set up by Alexander at the Hyphasis. The facts that Seleukos retired from India, giving up valuable provinces in exchange for only 500 elephants out of the 9,000 possessed by Chandragupta, that he entered into a matrimonial alliance, and sent an ambassador, clearly indicate the real nature of the relations between the sovereigns. Megasthenes exhibits the greatest respect for the Indian monarch, and never presumed to regard himself as the Resident at the court of a feudatory. Concerning the extent of the cession of Ariāna see Appendix G.

being distant at least 2,500 miles from the Indus, the march to it must have occupied a year or more.

North-western frontier.

The range of the Hindū Kush mountains, known to the Greeks as the Paropanisos or Indian Caucasus, in this way became the frontier between Chandragupta's provinces of Herāt and Kābul on the south, and the Seleukidan province of Bactria on the north. The first Indian emperor, more than two thousand years ago, thus entered into possession of that 'scientific frontier' sighed for in vain by his English successors, and never held in its entirety even by the Moghal monarchs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Achievements of Chandragupta.

In the course of some eighteen years Chandragupta had expelled the Macedonian garrisons from the Panjāb and Sind, repulsed and humbled Seleukos the Conqueror, and established himself as undisputed supreme lord of at least all Northern India and a large part of Ariāna. These achievements fairly entitle him to rank among the greatest and most successful kings known to history. A realm so vast and various as that of Chandragupta was not to be governed by weakness. The strong hand which won the empire was needed to keep it, and the government was administered with stern severity.[1] About six years after the withdrawal of Seleukos, Chandragupta died (297 B.C.), and handed on the imperial succession to his son Bindusāra, who is also known by the title of Amitraghāta, 'Slayer of foes.'

297 B.C.

Megasthenes, 302 B.C.

Soon after the conclusion of peace in 303 B.C., Seleukos had sent as his envoy to the court of Chandragupta an officer named Megasthenes, who had been employed under Sibyrtios, satrap of Arachosia. The envoy resided for a considerable time at Pātaliputra (now Patna), the capital of the Indian empire, and employed his leisure in compiling an excellent

[1] *Justin*, xv, 4, and the details given by Megasthenes. The passage in Justin's compilation is one of the most important concerning Chandragupta. The testimonies of the various Greek and Roman authors are collected in Mr. McCrindle's books and in Wilson's preface to his translation of the *Mudrā Rākshasa*. That play, probably composed early in the seventh century, undoubtedly embodies a genuine historical tradition, of which I have made cautious use.

account of the geography, products, and institutions of India, which continued to be the principal authority on the subject until modern times. Although often misled by erroneous information received from others, Megasthenes is a veracious and trustworthy witness concerning matters which came under his personal observation, and his vivid account of Chandragupta's civil and military administration may be accepted without hesitation as true and accurate.[1] That account, although preserved in a fragmentary form, is so full and detailed that a modern reader is more minutely informed in many respects concerning the institutions of Chandragupta than he is about those of any Indian sovereign until the days of Akbar, the contemporary of Queen Elizabeth.

Pātaliputra, the capital.

Pātaliputra, the imperial capital, which had been founded in the fifth century B.C., stood in the tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Sōn with the Ganges, on the northern bank of the former, and a few miles distant from the latter. The site is now occupied by the large native city of Patna and the English civil station of Bankipore, but the rivers changed their courses many centuries ago, and the confluence is at present near the cantonment of Dinapore, about twelve miles above Patna. The ancient city, which lies buried below its modern successor, was, like it, a long, narrow parallelogram, measuring about nine miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. It was defended by a massive timber palisade, pierced by sixty-four gates, crowned by five hundred and seventy towers, and protected externally by a broad and deep moat, filled from the waters of the Sōn.[2]

[1] The fragments of Megasthenes have been collected and edited by Schwanbeck under the title of *Megasthenis Indika* (Bonn, 1846); and translated by McCrindle in *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* (Trubner, London, 1877). Arrian (*Indika*, 17) rightly brackets Nearchos and Megasthenes as trustworthy persons (δοκίμω ἄνδρε). Strabo, who was disgusted by some of the travellers' tales repeated by Megasthenes, unjustly stigmatizes him as a liar. The information collected by Megasthenes was supplemented by the works of other writers, of whose books fragments have been preserved by the authors to whom we are indebted for our knowledge of Megasthenes. For a list of these authors see Schwanbeck, op. cit., Index I. Mr. McCrindle's books, six in number, give a nearly complete collection of the passages in Greek and Roman authors treating of ancient India.

[2] See Lt.-Col. Waddell's treatise,

Palace. The royal palace, although chiefly constructed of timber, was considered to excel in splendour and magnificence the palaces of Sūsa and Ekbatana, its gilded pillars being adorned with golden vines and silver birds. The buildings stood in an extensive park, studded with fish-ponds and furnished with a great variety of ornamental trees and shrubs.

Court. Here the imperial court was maintained with barbaric and luxurious ostentation. Basins and goblets of gold, some measuring six feet in width, richly carved tables and chairs of state, vessels of Indian copper set with precious stones, and gorgeous embroidered robes were to be seen in profusion, and contributed to the brilliancy of the public ceremonies. When the king condescended to show himself in public on state occasions he was carried in a golden palanquin, adorned with tassels of pearls, and was clothed in fine muslin embroidered with purple and gold. When making short journeys he rode on horseback, but when travelling longer distances he was mounted, like a modern Rāja, on an elephant with golden trappings.[1] Combats of animals were a favourite diversion, as they still are at the courts of native princes, and the king took delight in witnessing the fights of bulls, rams, elephants, rhinoceroses, and other animals. Gladiatorial contests between men were also exhibited. A curious entertainment, which seems not to be known in the present age, was afforded by ox-races, which were made the subject of keen betting, and were watched by the king with the closest interest. The course was one of thirty *stadia*, or six thousand yards, and the race was run with cars, each of which was drawn by a mixed team of

Discovery of the Exact Site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pātaliputra (Calcutta, 1892), and revised edition, 1903. Some fragments of the timber palisade have been found. The remains of the palace are buried under the houses and fields of the village of Kumrāhār, on the south side of the railway between Bankipore and Patna. Cunningham was mistaken in believing that Pātaliputra had been mostly cut away by the rivers. Patna is in N. lat. 25° 37′, E. long. 85° 12′. Chāṇakya (*Arthaśāstra*, Bk. ii, ch. 3, in *Mysore Review*, Feb., 1907, p. 73) lays down elaborate rules for the fortification of the capital.

[1] *Curtius*, viii, 9; *Strabo*, xv, 69.

horses and oxen, the horses being in the centre with an ox on each side.[1] Trotting oxen are still largely used for drawing travelling carriages in many parts of India, but the breed of racers seems to be extinct.

Chase.

The principal royal amusement was the chase, which was conducted with great ceremony, the game in an enclosed preserve being driven up to a platform occupied by the king, who shot the animals with arrows; but, if the hunt took place in the open country, he used to ride an elephant. When hunting he was closely attended by armed female guards, who were obtained by purchase from foreign countries, and formed an indispensable element in the courts of the ancient Indian monarchs. The road for the sovereign's procession was marked off with ropes, which it was death to pass.[2] The institution of the Royal Hunt was abolished by Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka, in 259 B.C.

Habits of the king.

As a rule, the king remained within the precincts of the inner palace, under the protection of his Amazonian bodyguard, and appeared in public only to hear causes, offer sacrifice, and to go on military or hunting expeditions. Probably he was expected to show himself to his subjects at least once a day, and then to receive petitions and decide disputes in person. Like the modern Indians, Chandragupta took pleasure in massage or friction of the limbs, and custom required that he should indulge in this luxury while giving

[1] Aelian, Περὶ ζῴων ἰδιότητος, bk. xiii, ch. 18; bk. xv, ch. 15.

[2] Megasthenes, *Fragm.* xxvii. The Greek is τῷ δὲ παρελθόντι ἐντὸς μέχρι γυναικῶν θάνατος, which Mr. McCrindle renders 'it is death for man and woman alike to pass the ropes', but the Greek idiom will not bear this translation. Muller correctly renders 'quodsi quis interius ad mulieres [*scil.* to the female guards] usque accedit, interficitur.' This rendering, perhaps, would require the text to read τῶν γυναικῶν. The word τῶν may have dropped out. The female guards are mentioned in the Sanskrit plays. In the *Mudrā Rākshasa*, Act iii, Chandragupta is represented as attended by a girl named Sonottarā. The girls were bought from their parents (*Strabo*, xv, 55); and good-looking maidens for the royal harem (παρθένοι εὐειδεῖς πρὸς παλλακίαν) were still regularly imported in the first century A.D. at Barygaza (Broach), on the western coast (*Periplus*, ch. 49; see also chs. 8, 9, 31, 36; transl. McCrindle in *Ind. Ant.* viii, 143). Chāṇakya prescribes that 'On getting up from bed, the king should be received by troops of women armed with bows' (*Arthaśāstra*, bk. i, ch. 21; trans. in *Mysore Review* Feb., 1907, p. 57).

public audience; four attendants used to massage him with ebony rollers during the time that he was engaged in disposing of cases.[1] In accordance with Persian custom, which had much influence upon the Indian court and administration, the king ceremonially washed his hair on his birthday, which was celebrated by a splendid festival, at which the nobles were expected to make rich presents to their sovereign.[2]

Plots.

In the midst of all the gold and glitter, and in spite of the most elaborate precautions, uneasy lay the head that wore the crown. The king's life was so constantly threatened by plots that he dared not incur the risk either of sleeping in the day-time, or occupying the same bedroom two nights in succession.[3] The dramatist brings vividly before us the astuteness of the Brahman counsellor who detected the plots of both the poisoners and

> 'The brave men who were concealed
> In the subtérrene avenue that led
> To Chandragupta's sleeping chamber—thence
> To steal by night, and kill him as he slept'.[4]

Military strength.

The army, to which Chandragupta owed his throne and empire, was maintained at enormous numerical strength, and so organized, equipped, and administered as to attain a high degree of efficiency, as measured by an Oriental standard. It was not a militia, but a standing army, drawing liberal

[1] Such an attendant (*saṁvāhaka*) is a minor character in the *Toy-cart*, or *Little Clay-cart*, drama; transl. by Ryder, in *Harvard Oriental Series*, vol. ix (1905).

[2] *Strabo*, xv, 69; *Herodotus*, ix, 110. The fact is mentioned by Herodotus in connexion with the horrible story of the wife of Masistes. As the Persian hair-washing festival was celebrated on the king's birthday, the Indian imitation presumably was celebrated on the same occasion. ('Persian Influence on Maurya India,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 201). The shaven heads, now favoured by most Hindus, were not fashionable in ancient India. The Indians, we are told, 'frequently comb, but seldom cut, the hair of their head. The beard of the chin they never cut at all, but they shave off the hair from the rest of the face, so that it looks polished' (*Curtius*, viii, 9).

[3] *Strabo*, xv, 55. So, in Burma, king Badonsachen or Bodoahpra (1781–1819 A.D.), after his escape from a conspiracy, began the practice of changing daily his chamber and bed (Sangermano, *Burmese Empire*, ed. Jardine, p. 65).

[4] *Mudrā Rākshasa*, Act ii (Wilson, *Theatre*, ii, 181).

and regular pay, and supplied by the government with horses, arms, equipment, and stores.[1] The force at the command of Mahāpadma Nanda is said to have numbered 80,000 horse, 200,000 foot, 8,000 chariots, and 6,000 fighting elephants. This huge force was greatly augmented by Chandragupta, who raised the numbers of the infantry to 600,000, and also had 30,000 horse, and 9,000 elephants, besides chariots, all permanently enrolled in a regularly paid establishment.[2]

Arms.

Each horseman carried two lances, resembling the kind called *saunia* by the Greeks, and a buckler. All the infantry carried the broadsword as their principal weapon, and as additional arms, either javelins, or bow and arrows. The arrow was discharged with the aid of pressure from the left foot on the extremity of the bow resting upon the ground, and with such force that neither shield nor breastplate could withstand it.[3]

Chariots and elephants

Each chariot, which might be drawn by either four or two horses, accommodated two fighting-men besides the driver; and an elephant, in addition to the mahout, or driver, carried three archers.[4] The 9,000 elephants therefore implied a force of 36,000 men, and the 8,000 chariots, supposing them to be no more numerous than those kept by Mahāpadma Nanda, required 24,000 men to work them. The total number of soldiers in the army would thus have been 600,000 infantry, 30,000 horsemen, 36,000 men with the elephants, and 24,000 with the chariots, or 690,000 in all, excluding followers and attendants.

Size of Indian armies.

These high figures may seem incredible at first sight, but are justified by our knowledge of the unwieldy hosts used in war by Indian kings in later ages. For instance, Nuñez, the Portuguese chronicler, who was contemporary with Krishna Deva, the Rāja of Vijayanagar, in the sixteenth

[1] *Diodorus*, ii, 41.

[2] *Pliny*, vi, 19; Plutarch, *Alex* ch. 62.

[3] Arrian, *Indika*, ch. 16.

[4] *Strabo*, xv, 52; *Aelian*, xiii, 10. The chariots of Pōros in the Panjāb were each 'drawn by four horses, and carried six men, of whom two were shield-bearers, two, archers posted on each side of the chariot, and the other two, charioteers, as well as men-at-arms, for when the fighting was at close quarters they dropped the reins and hurled dart after dart against the enemy' (*Curtius*, viii, 14; *ante*, p. 62).

century (1509–30), affirms that that prince led against Raichūr an army consisting of 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse, and 551 elephants, besides camp followers.[1]

War Office.

The formidable force at the disposal of Chandragupta, by far the largest in India,[2] was controlled and administered under the direction of a War Office organized on an elaborate system. A commission of thirty members was divided into six boards, each with five members, to which departments were severally assigned as follows:—Board No. I, in co-operation with the admiral—Admiralty; Board No. II—Transport, Commissariat, and Army Service, including the provision of drummers, grooms, mechanics, and grass-cutters; Board No. III—Infantry; Board No. IV—Cavalry; Board No. V—War-chariots; Board No. VI—Elephants.

Efficient organization.

All Indian armies had been regarded from time immemorial as normally comprising the four arms, cavalry, infantry, elephants and chariots; and each of these arms would naturally fall under the control of a distinct authority; but the addition of co-ordinate supply and admiralty departments appears to be an innovation due to the genius of Chandragupta. His organization must have been as efficient in practice as it was systematic on paper, for it enabled him not only, in the words of Plutarch, to 'overrun and subdue all India', but also to expel the Macedonian garrisons, and to repel the invasion of Seleukos.

Civil administration.

The details recorded concerning the civil administration of Chandragupta's empire, if not so copious as we might desire, are yet sufficient to enable us to realize the system of government; which, although, of course, based upon the personal autocracy of the sovereign, was something better than a merely arbitrary tyranny.

Municipal Commission.

The administration of the capital city, Pātaliputra, was

[1] Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 147. Many other proofs of the unwieldy size of Indian armies might be cited.

[2] The powerful Āndhra kingdom (*validior gens*) possessed only 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants. 'Sed omnium in India prope, non modo in hoc tractu, potentiam claritatemque antecedunt Prasii, amplissima urbe ditissimaque Palibothra' [*scil.* Pātaliputra] (*Pliny*, vi, 19).

provided for by the formation of a Municipal Commission, consisting of thirty members, divided, like the War Office Commission of equal numbers, into six Boards or Committees of five members each. These Boards may be regarded as an official development of the ordinary non-official *panchāyat*, or committee of five members, by which every caste and trade in India has been accustomed to regulate its internal affairs from time immemorial.

Industrial arts.

The first Municipal Board, which was entrusted with the superintendence of everything relating to the industrial arts, was doubtless responsible for fixing the rates of wages, and must have been prepared to enforce the use of pure and sound materials, as well as the performance of a fair day's work for fair wages, as determined by the authorities. Artisans were regarded as being in a special manner devoted to the royal service, and capital punishment was inflicted on any person who impaired the efficiency of a craftsman by causing the loss of a hand or an eye.

Foreigners.

The second Board devoted its energies to the case of foreign residents and visitors, and performed duties which in modern Europe are entrusted to the consuls representing foreign powers. All foreigners were closely watched by officials, who provided suitable lodgings, escorts, and, in case of need, medical attendance. Deceased strangers were decently buried, and their estates were administered by the commissioners, who forwarded the assets to the persons entitled.[1] The existence of these elaborate regulations is conclusive proof that the Maurya empire in the third century B.C. was in constant intercourse with foreign states, and that large numbers of strangers visited the capital on business.

Vital statistics.

The third Board was responsible for the systematic registration of births and deaths, and we are expressly informed that the system of registration was enforced for the informa-

[1] These officials corresponded exactly with the Greek πρόξενοι, and it is possible that Chandragupta borrowed this institution from Greece. But his other arrangements show no trace of Greek influence. For a good account of προξενία, see Newton's *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, pp. 121–3 ('Consular officers in India and Greece', *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 200).

tion of the government, as well as for facility in levying the taxes. The taxation referred to probably was a poll-tax, at the rate of so much a head annually. Nothing in the legislation of Chandragupta is more astonishing to the observer familiar with the lax methods of ordinary Oriental governments than this registration of births and deaths. The spontaneous adoption of such a measure by an Indian native state in modern times is unheard of, and it is impossible to imagine an old-fashioned Rāja feeling anxious 'that births and deaths among both high and low might not be concealed'. Even the Anglo-Indian administration, with its complex organization and European notions of the value of statistical information, did not attempt the collection of vital statistics until very recent times, and always has experienced great difficulty in securing reasonable accuracy in the figures.

Trade.

The important domain of trade and commerce was the province of the fourth Board, which regulated sales, and enforced the use of duly stamped weights and measures. Merchants paid a licence tax, and the trader who dealt in more than one class of commodity paid double.

Manufactures.

The fifth Board was responsible for the supervision of manufacturers on similar lines. A curious regulation prescribed the separation of new from old goods, and imposed a fine for violation of the rule. The reason for this prescription was that there were distinct rates of taxation for old and new goods.[1]

the on es.

The collection of a tithe of the value of the goods sold was the business of the sixth and last Board, and evasion of this tax was punishable with death. Similar taxation on sales always has been common in India, but rarely, if ever, has its collection been enforced by a penalty so formidable as that exacted by Chandragupta.

eneral unicipal dminis- ration.

Our detailed information relates only to the municipal administration of Pātaliputra, the capital, but it is reasonable to infer that Taxila, Ujjain, and the other great cities of the empire were governed on the same principles and

[1] Chāṇakya's rule 8 (*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 50).

by similar methods. The 'Provincials' Edict' of Asoka is addressed to the officers in charge of the city of Tosali in Kalinga.[1]

In addition to the special departmental duties above detailed, the Municipal Commissioners in their collective capacity were required to control all the affairs of the city, and to keep in order the markets, temples, harbours, and, generally speaking, all public works.[2]

Viceroys

The administration of the distant provinces was entrusted to viceroys, probably, as a rule, members of the royal family. The information concerning the viceroyalties being more complete for Asoka's reign than for that of Chandragupta, the subject will be referred to again when Asoka's system of administration is discussed.

News-writers.

In accordance with the usual practice of Oriental monarchies, the court kept watch over the more remote functionaries by means of special agents, or 'news-writers', the *akhbār navīs* of modern times, who are called 'overseers' and 'inspectors' (ἔφοροι, ἐπίσκοποι) by the Greek authors, and are mentioned in the Asoka Edicts as the king's 'men' (*pulisāni*, Pillar Edict VI), or 'reporters' (*pativedakā*, Rock Edict VI). The duty of these officers was to superintend or oversee all that occurred in town or country and to make private reports to the government. Arrian notes that similar officers were employed by the authorities of the independent nations as well as by the monarchical governments of India. They did not disdain to utilize as coadjutors the courtesans of the camp and city, and must have transmitted at times to their masters strange packets of scandalous gossip. Arrian's informants assured him that the reports sent in were always true, and that no Indian could be accused

[1] V. A. Smith, *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, p. 136.

[2] Fragment xxxiv in Schwanbeck, from *Strabo*, xv, 1, 51; translated by McCrindle in *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 87, and again (revised) in *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, p. 54. But I doubt the propriety of translating ἀπὸ συσσήμου (twice) as 'by public notice'. It seems rather to mean 'with official stamp'. Chāṇakya lays down rules about the Government stamp-mark on merchandise for sale (*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 48). The harbours were those on the Sōn and Ganges rivers. The remains of the brick embankments along the old course of the Sōn can still be traced.

of lying; but it is permissible to doubt the strict accuracy of this statement,[1] although it is certainly the fact that the people of ancient India enjoyed a widespread and enviable reputation for straightforwardness and honesty.[2]

Penal code.

The general honesty of the people and the efficient administration of the criminal law are both attested by the observation recorded by Megasthenes, that while he resided in Chandragupta's camp, containing 400,000 persons, the total of the thefts reported in any one day did not exceed two hundred *drachmai*, or about eight pounds sterling. When crime did occur it was repressed with terrible severity. Ordinary wounding by mutilation was punished by the corresponding mutilation of the offender, in addition to the amputation of his hand. If the injured person happened to be an artisan devoted to the royal service, the penalty was death. The crime of giving false evidence was visited with mutilation of the extremities; and, in certain unspecified cases, serious offences were punished by the shaving of the offender's hair, a penalty regarded as specially infamous.[3] Injury to a sacred tree,[4] evasion of the municipal tithe on goods sold, and intrusion on the royal procession going to the hunt were all alike capitally punishable. These recorded instances of severity are sufficient to prove that the code of criminal law, as a whole, must have been characterized by uncompromising sternness and slight regard for human life.

and venue.

The native law of India has always recognized agricultural land as being Crown property, and has admitted the undoubted right of the ruling power to levy a Crown rent, or 'land revenue', amounting to a considerable portion, either of the gross produce or of its cash value. Even the English laws, which, contrary to ancient custom, recognize private

[1] The statement that the courtesans were utilized as informers is in *Strabo*, xv, 48.

[2] The evidence is summarized by Max Müller in *India, what can it Teach us?* p. 54.

[3] This was a Persian punishment. 'Lighter crimes are punished by cutting off the nose, or perhaps only the hair. Sometimes one-half of the scalp is shaved, and a tablet affixed to the neck, so inflicting disgrace on the offender' (Kingsmill, in *Athenæum*, July 19, 1902, quoting a Chinese work of the sixth century, entitled *Wei-Shu*, with reference to the Sassanian period).

[4] *Curtius*, viii, 9.

property in culturable la. ', insist that the land revenue is the first charge on the soil, and permit the enforcement of the charge by sale of the land free of all incumbrances, in the event of default. The land revenue is still the mainstay of Indian finance. So it must have been in the days of Chandragupta. The details of his system of 'settlement', or valuation and assessment of the land, have not been preserved, and it is not known whether a fresh valuation was made annually, or at longer intervals. The normal share of the gross produce taken by the Crown is said to have been one-fourth; but in practice, no doubt, the proportion taken varied largely, as it does to this day, and all provinces could not be treated alike. Certain other unspecified dues were also levied. The army being a professional force, recruited from the fighting castes, the agricultural population was exempt from military service; and Megasthenes noted with surprise and admiration that the husbandmen could pursue their calling in peace, while the professional soldiers of hostile kings engaged in battle.[1]

Irrigation.

The proper regulation of irrigation is a matter of prime importance in India; and it is much to the credit of Chandragupta that he maintained a special Irrigation Department charged with the duty of measuring the lands, and so regulating the sluices that every one should receive his fair share of the life-giving water. The allusion to the measurement of lands as part of the duty of the Irrigation Department seems to indicate that a water-rate was levied, and the reference to sluices implies a regular system of canals.

The Sudarśana lake.

The inscription of the Satrap Rudradāman, engraved about the year 150 A.D. on the famous rock at Girnār in Kāthiāwār, on which Asoka, four centuries earlier, had recorded a version of his immortal edicts, bears direct testimony to the care bestowed by the central government

[1] *Strabo*, xv, 40. In this passage the erroneous statement occurs that the cultivator received one-fourth of the produce. Diodorus correctly states that the land revenue was one-fourth of the gross produce.

upon the question of irrigation, even in the most remote provinces. Although Girnār is situated close to the Arabian Sea, at a distance of at least a thousand miles from the Maurya capital, the needs of the local farmers did not escape the imperial notice. Pushyagupta, the Vaisya, who was Chandragupta's viceroy of the western provinces, saw that by damming up a small stream a reservoir of great value for irrigation could be provided. He accordingly formed a lake called Sudarsana, 'the Beautiful,' between the citadel on the east side of the hill and the 'inscription rock' further to the east, but failed to complete the necessary supplemental channels. These were constructed in the reign of Chandragupta's grandson Asoka, under the superintendence of his representative, Rāja Tushāspha, the Persian, who was then governor. These beneficent works constructed under the patronage of the Maurya emperors endured for four hundred years, but in the year 150 A. D. a storm of exceptional violence destroyed the embankment, and with it the lake.

Rebuilding of the dam.

The embankment was then rebuilt 'three times stronger' than before by order of the Saka Satrap Rudradāman, who has recorded the history of the work in an inscription which is the only known epigraphic record containing the names of Chandragupta and Asoka Maurya. Notwithstanding the triple strength of Rudradāman's masonry, it too failed to withstand the fury of the elements; the dam again burst, and was repaired once more in 458 A. D. by the local governor serving under Skandagupta. At some time unknown these ancient works fell to ruin, and the lake thus finally disappeared. Its site, buried in deep jungle, was so utterly forgotten that modern local inquirers have experienced difficulty in ascertaining its exact position.

Imperial care for irrigation.

The fact that so much pains and expense were lavished upon this irrigation work in a remote dependency of the empire is conclusive evidence that the provision of water for the fields was recognized as an imperative duty by the great Maurya emperors, and is a striking illustration of the accuracy of Megasthenes' remark that imperial officers were wont to 'measure the land, as in Egypt, and inspect the

sluices by which water is distributed into the branch canals, so that every one may enjoy his fair share of the benefit'.[1]

Strict control.

The central government, by means of local officers, exercised strict control and maintained close supervision over all classes and castes of the population. Even the Brahman astrologers, soothsayers, and sacrificial priests, whom Megasthenes erroneously described as forming a separate caste of 'philosophers' or 'sophists',[2] received their share of official attention, and were rewarded or punished according as their predictions and observations proved correct or mistaken. Among the artisans, ship-builders and armour-makers were salaried public servants, and were not permitted, it is said, to work for any private person. The wood-cutters, carpenters, blacksmiths, and miners were subject to special supervision, of which the nature is not defined.

Riding regulations

According to Strabo, no private person was permitted to keep either a horse or an elephant, the possession of either animal being a royal privilege. But this assertion is undoubtedly inaccurate, if taken as applicable to all parts of the country, and is corrected by the reasonable and detailed observations of Arrian (*Indika*, 17). That author tells us that the mounts used commonly were horses, camels, and

[1] Fragment xxxiv, in *Strabo*, xv, 1, 50. The antiquities of Girnār (Jūnāgaṛh) are described by Burgess in *Reports Archaeol. Survey W. I.*, vol. ii, and the position of the lake is defined by Mr. Cousens in the *Progress Report* of the same Survey for 1898–9, par. 49. For Rudradāman's inscription see the latest ed. by Prof. Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, viii, 36. It is the earliest considerable inscription in the Sanskrit language. The term *rāshtriya* applied to Pushyagupta used to be translated 'brother-in-law', but in this passage it should be rendered by 'provincial governor' or 'viceroy'. Tushāspha is called a 'Yavana', but the form of the name shows that he must have been a Persian (*Ep. Ind.*, viii, 46, note).

[2] Megasthenes was ill-informed about the castes, which he reckoned as seven: (1) the 'sophists' (*σοφισταί*); (2) agriculturists *γεωργοί*); (3) herdsmen, shepherds, and graziers (*νομέες, ποιμένες, βουκόλοι*); (4) artisans and traders (*τὸ δημιουργικόν τε καὶ καπηλικὸν γένος*); (5) the military (*πολεμισταί*); (6) the overseers (*ἐπίσκοποι*); (7) the councillors (*οἱ ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευόμενοι ὁμοῦ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἢ κατὰ πόλιας ὅσαι αὐτόνομοι σὺν τῇσιν ἀρχῇσι*, Fragm. xxxii of Schwanbeck, from Arrian, *Indika*, 11, 12). Strabo calls No. 1, *τοὺς φιλοσόφους*; No. 3, *ποιμένων καὶ θηρευτῶν*; No. 4, *τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὰς τέχνας καὶ τοὺς καπηλικοὺς καὶ οἷς ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἡ ἐργασία*; No. 6, *ἔφοροι*; and No. 7, *οἱ σύμβουλοι καὶ σύνεδροι τοῦ βασιλέως*. His nomenclature for Nos. 2, and 5 agrees with Arrian's. The errors in this classification are obvious.

asses, elephants being used only by the wealthy, and considered specially appropriate for the service of royalty. Except as regards asses, which are now looked upon with contempt, and restricted to the humblest services as beasts of burden for potters and washermen, the statement of Arrian applies accurately to modern India.[1] To ride an elephant or camel, or in a four-horsed chariot was, he says, a mark of distinction, but anybody might ride or drive a single horse.[2] The *ekka*, or light carriage drawn by a single pony, still so much used in Northern India, is a very ancient conveyance.

Roads.

The roads were maintained in order by the officers of the proper department; and pillars, serving as milestones and sign-posts, were set up at intervals of ten *stadia*, equivalent to half a *kōs* according to the Indian reckoning, or 2,022½ English yards. The provision of these useful marks was made more liberally than it was afterwards by the Moghal emperors, who were content with one pillar to each *kōs*. A royal, or grand trunk, road, ten thousand *stadia* in length, connected the north-western frontier with the capital.[3]

High degree of civilization.

The foregoing review of the civil and military system of government during the reign of Chandragupta proves clearly that Northern India in the time of Alexander the Great had attained to a high degree of civilization, which must have been the product of evolution continued through many centuries. Unfortunately no monuments have been dis-

[1] Asses, however, were largely used in ancient India, that is to say, in the Panjāb, and on the mountain frontiers. They are mentioned in the *Rig Veda*; and many passages in the *Mahābhārata* mention asses, camels, and mules in association, as used by the Vāhīka and Madraka tribes in the Panjāb, of which Śākala (Siālkōt) was then the capital (Sylvain Lévi, *Ind. Ant.*, 1906, p. 17).

[2] Chānakya prescribes capital punishment for the slayer of an elephant (*Mysore Review*, Feb., 1907). In Burma the king was sole proprietor of all elephants, and possessed 6,000. The privilege of riding on or keeping an elephant was an honour granted only to men of the first rank and consequence (Symes, *Embassy to Ava*, ii, 8: Constable).

[3] *Strabo*, xv, 11. The Moghal *kōs*, the interval between pillars still existing, averages 4,558 yards (Elliot, *Suppl. Glossary*, s.v. Kōs). Fleet takes *aḍhakosikya* in Pillar Edict VII to mean 'at distances of *eight* kos' instead of 'every half kos', as usually interpreted (*J.R.A.S.*, 1906, p. 417), forgetting the statement of Strabo that the pillars were set up at intervals of ten *stadia*. But, possibly, he may be right, as Strabo speaks of pillars and Asoka of wells.

covered which can be referred with certainty to the period of Chandragupta or his son, and the archaeologist is unable to bring the tangible evidence afforded by excavation to support the statements of the Greek observers. The earliest known examples of Indian art and architecture, with very slight exceptions, still date from the reign of Asoka. But if the exploration of the sites of Pātaliputra, Vaisāli, Taxila, and other cities of high antiquity should ever be undertaken seriously and on an adequate scale, it is possible that remains of the early Maurya period, as well as those of previous ages, may reward the enterprise of the explorer. It is not likely that the ruins of many recognizable buildings will be found, because the larger edifices of ancient India, like those of modern Burma, were probably constructed of timber for the most part, brick being used merely for foundations and plinths. No trace of stone architecture prior to the age of Asoka has been detected. Writing certainly was in common use by certain classes of the population long before the days of Chandragupta; when, according to the Greek authors, the bark of trees and cotton cloth served as writing material,[1] and it is surprising that no inscriptions of his time on more permanent material have yet been found. But some records either on stone or metal probably exist, and may be expected to come to light whenever the really ancient sites shall be examined.

[1] Nearchos is the original authority for the use of closely woven [cotton] cloth (*Strabo*, xv, 67). A century ago merchants and shopkeepers in Mysore universally employed long strips of cotton cloth, from eight to twelve inches wide, and twelve to eighteen feet long, as writing material. In ancient times these strips (*kadettum*) were used for records and public documents. The Kanarese writing on them was done with a pencil of *balapum*, or *lapis ollaris*, and could be rubbed out and renewed. The strips were neatly folded and kept in cases (Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, p. 342; 2nd ed. Madras, 1882). The statement of Megasthenes (*Strabo*, xv, 53) that the Indians were 'ignorant of writing' is erroneous. The letter sent to Augustus by an Indian king was on parchment (*Strabo*, xv, 73). The bark referred to was that of the birch (*Betula utilis*), but was used only in Northern India. 'The tender side of the barks of trees receives written characters like paper' (*Curtius*, viii, 9). Many of the apparent discrepancies in the Greek accounts of India are due to the fact that different authors refer to different parts of the country. General statements about India are always misleading.

Chānakya's '*Art of Government*'.

The description of the court and civil and military administration of Chandragupta Maurya, derived solely from Greek authorities, as given in the preceding pages, was practically uncorroborated when the first edition of this book was published. But recently an Indian scholar has made accessible, by means of translation, copious extracts from the discourse on the Art of Government traditionally ascribed to Chānakya, the wily Brahman minister of Chandragupta. Whoever its author may have been, that curious work undoubtedly is proved by both external and internal evidence to be of early date. The substance of the precepts and regulations has an extremely archaic aspect, and, in my judgment, the polity described is mainly that of the Maurya age. The treatise, in fact, may be read as a commentary on, and exposition of, the notes recorded by the Greek observers. A few passages in illustration of certain details have been cited above, but a fuller notice of some of the contents of the work bearing Chānakya's name will be of interest as throwing much additional light on the matters briefly treated by Megasthenes and his fellow authors.

Land revenue.

The head of the Land Revenue Department, or Superintendent of Agriculture, was required, like a modern settlement officer, to assess land at rates varying according to the different methods of irrigation used. The share of the produce taken by the State as land-revenue or rent ordinarily was one-fourth, as stated by Diodorus, but in certain cases the king took one-fifth. In addition to the grain thus paid as land-revenue, the cultivator had to pay about an equal amount as water-rate. Thus, in most cases, the State took half the gross produce of irrigated land. All subjects were further liable to pay occasional 'benevolences' on special occasions levied at the discretion of the king. The suggestions concerning the methods by which a necessitous monarch might extort money are of Machiavellian wickedness. The variety of dues levied regularly by the Crown under diverse names and pretexts was very great.

Taxes on sales.

In fortified towns the royal revenue was derived largely from taxes on sales, as stated by Megasthenes. In order to

facilitate the collection of this important branch of the public income, the cardinal rule was laid down that commodities should not be sold at the place of growth or manufacture. The law required that all articles for sale (excepting grain, cattle, and some others) should be brought to the toll house inside the town gate, and there offered for sale, and taxed if sold. Toll was paid only when actual sale took place. The rates of duty varied widely. Imports from abroad, as a rule, paid seven distinct taxes, aggregating about 20 per cent.; perishable goods, such as fruit and vegetables, were charged one-sixth of the value, or $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.; while on many other classes of commodities the rate of duty ranged from four to ten per cent. Highly priced goods, such as precious stones, were assessed on special valuations made by experts. All goods brought for sale had to be marked with an official stamp. The Greek phrase, *ἀπὸ συσσήμου*, refers, I think, to this practice.

The Greek observations on the subject of vital statistics are illustrated by the regulations which require the *Nāgaraka*, or Town Prefect, to register every arrival in or departure from his jurisdiction. He was also bound to keep up a census statement giving in detail for each inhabitant the sex, caste, name, family name, occupation, income, expenditure, and possessions in cattle. Breaches of the fiscal regulations were punishable usually by fine or confiscation, but the penalty for wilful false statements was the same as for theft, presumably mutilation. **Census.**

The statements of Strabo concerning the utilization of courtesans as informers are supported by the existence of a series of regulations on the subject. The government placed great reliance on espionage, and spies might lawfully practise any villainy in the furtherance of purposes of State. **Espionage.**

A regular system of excise licences was in force, special duties being levied on foreign liquors. Modern temperance reformers may be scandalized by the regulation that 'liquor shops shall consist of many comfortable rooms, furnished with cots and chairs. The drinking places shall possess such **Excise.**

comforts as changing seasons require, always having garlands of flowers, scent, and perfumes'.

These specimens may suffice to give the reader a notion of the principles and methods of government in ancient India, but the whole treatise is well worth reading. Although many of the rules are puerile or merely theoretical, the document, as a whole, evidently is a presentation of the facts of actual practice made in the peculiar literary form affected by the Hindu writers of text books.[1]

Success of Chandragupta.

Chandragupta ascended the throne at an early age, and inasmuch as he reigned only twenty-four years, must have died before he was fifty years of age.[2] In this brief space of life he did much. The expulsion of the Macedonian garrisons, the decisive repulse of Seleukos the Conqueror, the subjugation of at least all Northern India from sea to sea, the formation of a gigantic army, and the thorough organization of the civil government of a vast empire were no mean achievements. The power of Chandragupta was so firmly established that it passed peacefully into the hands of his son and grandson, and his alliance was courted by the potentates of the Hellenistic world. The Greek princes made no attempt to renew the aggressions of Alexander and Seleukos upon secluded India, and were content to maintain friendly diplomatic and commercial relations with her rulers for three generations.[3]

Absence of Hellenic influence.

The Maurya empire was not, as some recent writers fancy that it was, in any way the result of Alexander's splendid, but

[1] R. Shamasastry, 'Chaṇakya's Land and Revenue Policy,' *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, pp. 5, 47, 110; 'Chaṇakya's *Arthaśāstra*, or Science of Politics,' *Mysore Review*, Feb., 1907, p. 67.

[2] He was but a youth when he saw Alexander in 326 or 325 B.C. (Plutarch, *Alex.*, ch. 62).

'This Chandragupta! yet so young—so raised
To mighty empire, as the forest monarch,
Over subjected herds'

(*Mudrā Rākshasa*, Act vii; Wilson, ii, p. 249).

The statement that he reigned for thirty-four years is due to a copyist's blunder (Turnour, *Mahāvaṁśa*, p. 411, and Rhys Davids, *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, p. 41, note).

[3] For the curious anecdote about the powerful aphrodisiac drugs sent with other gifts by Chandragupta (Σανδρόκυττος) to Seleukos, see Phylarchos and Apollonios Dyskolos, in Muller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, i, 344.

transitory raid. The nineteen months which he spent in India were consumed in devastating warfare, and his death rendered fruitless all his grand constructive plans. Chandragupta did not need Alexander's example to teach him what empire meant. He and his countrymen had had before their eyes for ages the stately fabric of the Persian monarchy, and it was that empire which impressed their imagination, and served as the model for their institutions, in so far as they were not indigenous. The little touches of foreign manners in the court and institutions of Chandragupta, which chance to have been noted by our fragmentary authorities, are Persian, not Greek; and the Persian title of satrap continued to be used by Indian provincial governors for ages, down to the close of the fourth century A. D.[1]

The military organization of Chandragupta shows no trace of Hellenic influence. It is based upon the ancient Indian model, and his vast host was merely a development of the considerable army maintained by the kingdom of Magadha. The Indian kings relied upon their elephants, chariots, and huge masses of infantry; the cavalry being few in comparison and inefficient. Alexander, on the contrary, made no use of elephants or chariots, and put his trust in small bodies of highly trained cavalry, handled with consummate skill and calculated audacity. In the art of war he had no successor. The Seleukidan kings were content to follow the Oriental system and put their trust in elephants.[2] Indian military organization.

When Chandragupta died, in the year 297 B.C., he was succeeded by his son Bindusāra.[3] The Greek writers, how- 297 B.C. Bindusāra

[1] The Saka satraps of Saurāshṭra, or Kāṭhiāwār, in Western India were conquered by Chandra-gupta (II) Vikramāditya, of the Gupta dynasty, about 390 A. D. See 'Persian Influence on Maurya India', *Ind. Ant.* (1905), p. 201. A patriotic Hindu critic urges that Chandragupta needed to go no farther for his model than the story of Daśaratha in the Rāmāyaṇa.

[2] Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, ii, 289.

[3] The story told in a Jain book, and accepted by Mr. Lewis Rice, to the effect that Chandragupta, king of Pāṭaliputra, abdicated, became a Jain ascetic, and died at Sravana Belgola in Mysore, would be very interesting, if it could be believed. But, unfortunately, the book is quite modern, and the alleged epigraphic support upon which Mr. Rice relies has been so destructively criticized by Dr. Fleet that the tale must be regarded as 'imaginary history' (Rice, *Mysore Gazetteer* (1897), vol. i, p. 287 (Con-

ever, do not know this name, and call the successor of Chandragupta by appellations which seem to be attempts to transcribe the Sanskrit epithet Amitraghāta, 'Slayer of foes.'[1] The friendly relations between India and the Hellenistic powers, which had been initiated by Chandragupta and Seleukos, continued unbroken throughout the reign of Bindusāra, at whose court Megasthenes was replaced by Deimachos, as ambassador. The new envoy followed his predecessor's example by recording notes on the country to which he was accredited, but unfortunately very few of his observations have been preserved. When the aged founder of the Seleukidan monarchy was assassinated in 280 B.C., his place was taken by his son and colleague Antiochos Soter, who continued to follow his father's policy in regard to India.

Correspondence with Antiochos Soter.

The anecdote concerning the correspondence between Antiochos and Bindusāra, although trivial in itself, is worth quoting as a tangible proof of the familiar intercourse between the sovereign of India and his ally in Western Asia. Nothing, we are told, being sweeter than figs, Bindusāra begged Antiochos to send him some figs and raisin wine, and added that he would like him also to buy and send a professor. Antiochos replied that he had much pleasure in forwarding the figs and raisin wine, but regretted that he could not oblige his correspondent with the last-named article, because it was not lawful for Greeks to sell a professor.[2]

stable, 1897); Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxi, 1892, p. 287; *Ep. Ind.* iii, 171 note).

[1] For the Maurya chronology see *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* (Clarendon Press, 1901), pp. 58–65. The name Bindusāra is attested by the Hindū *Vishṇu Purāna*, the Jain *Pariśishṭaparvan*, and the Buddhist *Mahāvamśa* and *Dīpavaṁśa*. The variants in other Purāṇas seem to be merely clerical errors. Ἐπέμφθησαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰ Παλίμβοθρα, ὁ μὲν Μεγασθένης πρὸς Ἀνδρόκοττον, ὁ δὲ Δηίμαχος πρὸς Ἀμιτροχάδην τὸν ἐκείνου υἱὸν κατὰ πρεσβείαν (*Strabo*, ii, 1, 9). The more corrupt form Allitrochades occurs in some texts, and evidently is due to confusion between ΑΛΛΙ and ΑΜΙ. Hegesandros, quoted by Athenaios (Muller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, vol. iv, p. 421), writes Ἀμιτροχάτης, which is an accurate transcription of the supposed Sanskrit original (see Schwanbeck, op. cit., p. 77). Indian kings are often known by one or other epithet, used as a secondary name.

[2] Οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν περισπούδασται πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις αἱ ἰσχάδες (ὄντως γάρ, κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοφάνην,
'Οὐδὲν γὰρ ὄντως γλυκύτερον τῶν ἰσχάδων').

Embassy of Dionysios. Ptolemy Philadelphos, who ruled in Egypt from 285 to 247 B.C., also dispatched an envoy named Dionysios to the Indian court, who, like his colleagues, wrote an account of his experiences, which was still available to Pliny in the first century A.D.[1] It is uncertain whether Dionysios presented his credentials to Bindusāra or to his successor, Asoka.

Conquest of the Deccan. Nothing is recorded concerning the internal policy of Bindusāra, whose reign lasted for twenty-five years, nor is any monument or inscription of his time known. But it is probable that he continued his father's career of annexation and conquest within the borders of India. The limits of the empire ruled by Asoka, son and successor of Bindusāra, are known with sufficient accuracy, and it is certain that his dominions extended nearly as far south as Madras.[2] The country south of the Narbadā was not conquered by Asoka, whose only annexation was that of the kingdom of Kalinga, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. The twenty-four years of the reign of Chandragupta seem to be fully occupied with the great events known to have been crowded into them. It is difficult to believe that he could have found time to do more than climb from obscurity to power, expel the Macedonian garrisons, repel the attack of Seleukos, effect a revolution and establish a dynasty at Pātaliputra, annex a large part of Ariāna, and extend his dominion from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

Probably effected by Bindusāra. The Deccan, or peninsular India, down to approximately the latitude of Madras, must have been subjugated by either Chandragupta or Bindusāra, because it was inherited from the latter by Asoka, whose only war was the conquest of

ὡς καὶ Ἀμιτροχάτην, τὸν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλέα, γράψαι Ἀντιόχῳ, ἀξιοῦντα (φησὶν Ἡγήσανδρος) πέμψαι αὐτῷ γλυκὺν καὶ ἰσχάδας, καὶ σοφιστὴν ἀγοράσαντα· Καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἀντιγράψαι—'Ἰσχάδας μὲν καὶ γλυκὺν ἀποστελοῦμέν σοι, σοφιστὴν δ' ἐν Ἕλλησιν οὐ νόμιμον πωλεῖσθαι' (Muller, loc. cit.).

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* vi, 17. Pliny's work is believed to have been published in 77 A.D.

[2] According to Mr. Rice, 'an inscription of the twelfth century, at Bandanikke, Shikarpur taluk, Mysore, describes Kuntala as the province governed by the Mauryas. This, roughly speaking, would be the country between the rivers Bhima and Vedavati, bounded on the west by the Ghats, including Shimoga, Chitaldroog, Bellary, Dharwar, Bijapur, and adjacent parts to the north in Bombay and the Nizam's Dominions' (*Mysore Gaz.* (1897), i, 289).

Kalinga; and it is more probable that the conquest of the south was the work of Bindusāra than that it was effected by his busy father. But the ascertained outline of the career of Chandragupta is so wonderful, and implies his possession of such exceptional ability, that it is possible that the conquest of the south must be added to the list of his achievements. With this brief glance the shadowy figure of Bindusāra passes from our view, and the next two chapters will be devoted to the history of Asoka, who rightfully claims a place in the front rank of the great monarchs, not only of India, but of the world.

APPENDIX G

The Extent of the Cession of Ariāna by Seleukos Nikator to Chandragupta Maurya

Extent of cession.

The statement in the text that the cession made in 303 B.C. by Seleukos Nikator to Chandragupta Maurya included the provinces of the Paropanisadae (Kābul), Aria (Herāt), Arachosia (Kandahār), and probably Gedrosia (Mukrān), or a large part of that satrapy, is in accordance with the views expressed in my work on Asoka[1], as well as with those of Droysen,[2] and several eminent modern scholars.

Mr. Bevan's criticism.

But my statement having been adversely criticized recently by Mr. Bevan, who holds that it 'exceeds what is even probable, not to say proved[3]', it is necessary to show that the representation of the fact as given in the text rests upon solid grounds. The original authorities are five in number, namely, Strabo (two passages), Appian, Plutarch, Justin, and Pliny; and the relevant extracts, being brief, may be quoted in full, so that

[1] *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, p. 66.

[2] 'Aber dann schloss er [Seleukos] einen Frieden, in dem die Eroberungen Alexanders auch diesseits des Indus bis zu den Paropamisaden abgetreten wurden. Das war das erste, was von dem grossen Alexanderreich aufgegeben wurde, die erste nationale Reaction' (*Geschichte des Hellenismus*, Hamburg, 1836, vol. ii, 69). The spelling Paropanisos is more correct than the form with *m*.

[3] 'Mr. V. A. Smith (*Asoka*, p. 66) quotes Strabo as saying that Seleucus ceded "a large part of Ariane", but *that* Strabo does not say. In giving Arachosia, the Kabul [*sic*], and even Gedrosia to the new Indian realm Mr. Vincent [*sic*], I think, exceeds what is even probable, not to say proved' (*The House of Seleucus*, 1902, vol. i, p. 296 note).

my readers can judge for themselves what is the legitimate interpretation. All that has been written by modern authors on the subject is based upon these short extracts.

(I) The two passages from Strabo are as follows:—μάλιστα ἐκ τῆς διαίτης ἐδόκει τῆς τότε πιστότατα εἶναι τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν γεωγραφικῶν ἐκτεθέντα κεφαλαιωδῶς περὶ τῆς τότε νομιζομένης Ἰνδικῆς, ἡνίκα Ἀλέξανδος ἐπῆλθε· καὶ ἦν ὁ Ἰνδὸς ὅριον ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς Ἀριανῆς· ἣν ἐφεξῆς πρὸς τῇ ἑσπέρᾳ κειμένην Πέρσαι κατεῖχον· ὕστερον γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἀριανῆς πολλὴν ἔσχον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων (bk. xv, ch. i (India), sec. 10 in Muller and Dubner's ed.). Strabo, I.

(II) Ἡ δὲ τάξις τῶν ἐθνῶν τοιαύτη· παρὰ μὲν τὸν Ἰνδὸν οἱ Παροπαμίσαδαι, ὧν ὑπέρκειται ὁ Παροπάμισος ὄρος, εἶτ' Ἀραχωτοὶ πρὸς νότον, εἶτ' ἐφεξῆς πρὸς νότον Γεδρωσηνοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πρὸς τὴν παραλίαν ἔχουσιν· ἅπασι δὲ παρὰ τὰ πλάτη τῶν χωρίων παράκειται ὁ Ἰνδός. τούτων δ' [ἐκ μέρους] τῶν παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ἔχουσί τινα Ἰνδοί, πρότερον ὄντα Περσῶν. ἃ ἀφείλετο μὲν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν Ἀριανῶν καὶ κατοικίας ἰδίας συνεστήσατο, ἔδωκε δὲ Σέλευκος ὁ Νικάτωρ Σανδρακόττῳ, συνθέμενος ἐπιγαμίαν καὶ ἀντιλαβὼν ἐλέφαντας πεντακοσίους (ibid., bk. xv, ch. ii, 9). Strabo, II.

(III) Appian writes:—καὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν περάσας [Σέλευκος] ἐπολέμησεν Ἀνδροκόττῳ, βασιλεῖ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν Ἰνδῶν, μέχρι φιλίαν αὐτῷ καὶ κῆδος συνέθετο (*Syr.* 55). Appian.

(IV) Plutarch, arguing that the accounts of the military force of the Prasii were not exaggerated, says:—καὶ κόμπος οὐκ ἦν περὶ ταῦτα. Ἀνδρόκοττος γὰρ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ βασιλεύσας Σελεύκῳ πεντακοσίους ἐλέφαντας ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ στρατοῦ μυριάσιν ἑξήκοντα τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπῆλθεν ἅπασαν καταστρεφόμενος' (*Alex.* ch. 62). Plutarch.

(V) Justin's testimony is:—'[Seleucus] transitum deinde in Indiam fecit, quae post mortem Alexandri, veluti cervicibus iugo servitutis excusso, praefectos eius occiderat. Auctor libertatis Sandrocottus fuerat . . . cum quo facta pactione Seleucus, compositisque in oriente rebus, in bellum Antigoni descendit' (xv, 4). Justin.

(VI) Pliny, when treating of the Indus and the boundary of India, says:—'Etenim plerique ab occidente non Indo amne determinant, sed adiiciunt quatuor satrapias, Gedrosos, Arachotas, Arios, Paropamissadas' (bk. vi, ch. 20 (*al.* 23)). Pliny.

These texts comprise the whole of the direct evidence on the subject. It seems to me self-evident that the two passages of Strabo refer to the same event; and that when he says in the first that the Indians received from the Macedonians 'a large part of Arianē', which had been under the rule of the Persians up to the time of Alexander, he briefly alludes to the cession of the countries west of the Indus, formerly in the possession of the Persians, which Seleukos ceded to Chandragupta, as Interpretation of Strabo.

specifically stated in the second extract. I cannot imagine any sound reason for disputing the assertion that 'Strabo informs us that the cession included a large part of Arianē'. When the two passages of Strabo are read together, I maintain that the assertion is absolutely accurate.

The other authorities.

The statements of Appian, Plutarch, and Justin do not deal in terms with the extent of the cession, but are of value as proving that Seleukos actually crossed the Indus, waged an unsuccessful war, and was obliged to make peace on conditions very favourable to his adversary, and very unfavourable to himself.

The four satrapies.

The observation of Pliny that numerous (*plerique*) authors include in India the four satrapies of Gedrosia, Arachosia, Aria, and the Paropanisadae must have been based on the fact that at some period previous to 77 A.D., when his book was published, these four provinces were actually reckoned as part of India. At what time other than the period of the Maurya dynasty is it possible that these provinces formed part of India? Pliny's information about the country was mainly drawn from the writings of Megasthenes and the other contemporaries of Alexander, Chandragupta and Seleukos; and the natural interpretation of his observation requires us to believe that the four satrapies in question were 'the large part of Arianē' ceded by Seleukos. Kābul and Kandahār frequently have been held by the sovereigns of India, and form part of the natural frontier of the country. Herāt (Aria) is undoubtedly more remote, but can be held with ease by the power in possession of Kābul and Kandahār.

Gedrosia.

The satrapy of Gedrosia (or Gadrosia) extended far to the west, and probably only the eastern part of it was annexed by Chandragupta. The Malın range of mountains, which Alexander experienced such difficulty in crossing, would have furnished a natural boundary. Whether Chandragupta undertook the administration of the whole of Gedrosia or not, I have no doubt that Seleukos abandoned to him all control over the province, and that it was included by numerous authors in India, along with Aria, Arachosia, and the Paropanisadae; because Seleukos, intent upon the urgent business of crushing Antigonos, was constrained to surrender the four outlying satrapies named by Pliny, and to concentrate his strength in Central and Western Asia.

CHAPTER VI

ASOKA MAURYA

Asoka as Crown Prince.

According to credible tradition, Asoka-vardhana,[1] or Asoka, as he is generally called, served his apprenticeship to the art of government during the lifetime of his father, Bindusāra, as viceroy successively of the North-western frontier province and of Western India. He was one of several sons, and was no doubt selected by his father, in accordance with the usual practice, as *Yuvarāja*, or Crown Prince, on account of his ability and fitness for the imperial succession.

Taxila.

Taxila, the capital of the north-western viceroyalty, which probably included Kashmīr, the Panjāb, and the provinces to the west of the Indus, was in those days one of the greatest and most splendid of the cities of the East, and enjoyed a special reputation as the head quarters of Hindu learning. The sons of people of all the upper classes, chiefs, Brahmans, and merchants, flocked to Taxila, as to a university town, in order to study the circle of Indian arts and sciences, especially medicine. The territory surrounding the capital was rich and populous, and, two generations earlier, had formed a small independent state, weak enough to be in terror of its neighbours, and yet strong enough to render Alexander valuable assistance.

Taxilan customs.

The Greeks, who considered the little state to be well governed, noted with interest, and without disapprobation, the local customs, which included polygamy, the exposure of the dead to be devoured by vultures, and the sale in open market of maidens who had failed to secure husbands in the ordinary course.[2]

[1] *Vishnu-Purāṇa.*

[2] *Strabo*, bk. xv, chh. 28, 62. For the marriage-mart, compare the Babylonian practice (*Herod.* i. 196). Exposure of the dead to be devoured by vultures was, and still is, a Persian (Pārsī) custom (*Herod.* i, 140). It is practised to this day

Favourable position of the city.

The position of the city on the high road from Central Asia to the interior of India fitted it to be the capital of the north-western viceroy; and its strategical advantages are still recognized. Hasan Abdāl, close to its ruins, is a favourite ground for the manœuvres of the Indian army; and at Rāwalpindi, a few miles to the south-east, a huge cantonment guards the road to India against possible Alexanders advancing from the north-west.

Ujjain.

Ujjain, the capital of Western India, was equally famous, and equally suitable as the seat of a viceregal government. Reckoned to be one of the seven sacred cities, and standing on the road leading from the busy ports of the western coast to the markets of the interior, it combined the advantages of a favourite place of pilgrimage with those of a great commercial dépôt. The city was recognized as the head quarters of Indian astronomy, and longitudes were computed from its meridian.[1]

Asoka's peaceful accession.

The Ceylonese tradition that Asoka was residing at Ujjain when he was summoned to the capital by the news of his father's mortal illness may well be believed; but no credence can be given to the tales which relate that Asoka had a hundred brothers, ninety-nine of whom he slew, and so forth. These idle stories seem to have been invented chiefly in order to place a dark background of early wickedness behind the bright picture of his mature piety. Asoka certainly had brothers and sisters alive in the seventeenth or eighteenth year of his reign,[2] whose households were objects of his anxious care; and there is nothing to indicate that he regarded his relatives with jealousy. His grandfather, Chandragupta, 'a man of blood and iron,' who had fought his way from poverty and exile to the imperial throne, naturally was beset by jealousies and hatreds, and constrained to live a life of distrustful suspicion. But Asoka, who was born in the purple, and inherited an empire firmly established by

in Tibet, and was in ancient times the usage of the Lichchhavis of Vaisāli (*Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 233).

[1] See the curious article 'Oojyne' in Yule and Burnell, *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words.*

[2] 'Fourteenth year', according to the inscriptions, reckoning from the coronation.

half a century of masterful rule for two generations, presumably was free from the 'black care' which haunted his ancestor. His edicts display no sense of insecurity or weakness from first to last; and the probability is that he succeeded peaceably in accordance with his predecessor's nomination.

Inasmuch as the reign of Asoka lasted for fully forty years, he must have been a young man when, in the year 273 or 272 B.C., he undertook the government of the vast empire which had been won and kept by his grandfather and father. Nothing is recorded concerning the first eleven or twelve years of his rule, which presumably were spent in the current work of administration. His solemn coronation did not take place before the year 269 B.C., about four years after his accession, and this fact is the only circumstance which supports the notion that his succession was disputed. The anniversary of his coronation was always celebrated with ceremony, and specially marked by the pardon and release of prisoners.[1]

273 or 272 B.C. Accession; 269 B.C. Coronation.

In the thirteenth year of his reign, or the ninth, as reckoned from the coronation, Asoka embarked upon the one aggressive war of his life, and rounded off his dominions by the conquest of the kingdom of Kalinga, the strip of territory extending along the coast of the Bay of Bengal from the Mahānadī to the Godāvarī. The campaign was wholly successful, and Kalinga became an integral part of the Maurya dominions. Two special edicts published a few years later show that the administration of the newly acquired territory caused much anxiety to the emperor, who, like all sovereigns, sometimes was not well served by his officers. The royal instructions, which enjoined just and paternal government, and specially insisted on sympathetic, tactful treatment of the wilder tribes, were disregarded at times by officials, who had to be warned that disobedience of

261 B.C. Kalinga war.

[1] For the chronology see my book, *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* (Clarendon Press, 1901); which also gives a summary of the legends, and a complete translation of the inscriptions, which now requires revision in some particulars. The dates may be a year or two out, but not more.

orders was not the way to win the favour of either heaven or their master.

Misery caused by the war.

The kingdom of Kalinga had maintained a considerable military force, which was estimated by Megasthenes as numbering 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 700 war elephants. The opposition offered to the invaders was so stubborn that the conquest involved immeasurable suffering. The victor records with sorrow that 150,000 persons were carried into captivity, 100,000 were slain, and that many times that number perished from famine, pestilence, and the other calamities which follow in the train of armies.

The remorse of Asoka.

The sight of all this misery and the knowledge that he alone had caused it smote the conscience of Asoka, and awakened in his breast feelings of 'remorse, profound sorrow, and regret'. These feelings crystallized into a steadfast resolve that never again should ambition lead him to inflict such grievous wrongs upon his fellow creatures; and four years after the conquest he was able to declare that 'the loss of even the hundredth or the thousandth part of the persons who were then slain, carried away captive, or done to death in Kalinga would now be a matter of deep regret to His Majesty'.

Asoka forswears war.

The king acted up to the principles which he professed, and abstained from aggressive war for the rest of his life. About this time he came under the influence of Buddhist teaching, his devotion to which increased more and more as the years rolled on. The 'chiefest conquest', he declares, is that won by the Law of Piety, and he begs his descendants to rid themselves of the popular notion that conquest by arms is the duty of kings; and, even if they should find themselves engaged in warfare, he reminds them that they might still find pleasure in patience and gentleness, and should regard as the only true conquest that which is effected through the Law of Piety.[1]

Moral propaganda.

Asoka from this time forth made it the business of his life to employ his unlimited autocratic power over a vast empire in the teaching, propagation, and enforcement of the

[1] Rock Edict XIII.

ethical system, which he called the Law of Piety (*dhaṁma*), and had learned chiefly from his Buddhist instructors.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth years of his reign he decided definitely upon his line of action, and proclaimed the principles of his government to his people in a series of fourteen edicts engraved upon the rocks, laying down the general rules which must guide the conduct of the lieges. 257, 256 B.C.

These extraordinary documents were followed by others specially concerning the conquered province of Kalinga, the purport of which has been referred to above.

About 249 B.C. Pilgrimage.

In the year 249 B.C., when he had occupied the throne for about twenty-three years, Asoka made a solemn pilgrimage to the most sacred spots in the Buddhist Holy Land. Starting from Pātaliputra, the capital, he advanced northwards along the royal road, the course of which is marked by five great monolithic pillars,[1] through the districts now known as Muzaffarpur and Champāran, until he approached the base of the outer Himalayan range.

Birth-place of Buddha.

Probably he then turned westwards, without crossing the hills, and first visited the famous Lumbinī Garden—the Bethlehem of Buddhism—where, according to the legend, the pains of travail came upon Māyā, and she gave birth to Buddha as she stood under a tree. At this spot his guide and preceptor, Upagupta, addressed Asoka and said: 'Here, great king! was the Venerable One born'. A pillar inscribed with these words, still as legible as when they were incised, was set up by Asoka to preserve the memory of his visit, and stands to this day.[2]

Other holy places.

In due course Saint Upagupta led his royal disciple to Kapilavastu, the home of Buddha's childhood;[3] to Sārnāth, near Benares, the scene of the Master's first success as a preacher; to Srāvastī, where he lived for many years;[4] to

[1] Bakhirā; Lauriyā-Ararāj (Radhiah); Lauriyā-Nandangaṛh (Mathiah); Rāmpurwā (2).

[2] The latest revised translation is that by Prof. Pischel in *Sitz. kon. preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1903, which is discussed in *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 1.

[3] Probably Piprāwā in the north of the Bastī district (Mukherji and V. A. Smith, *Explorations in the Nepalese Tarāi*, Arch. Survey, Imp. Ser., vol. xxvi, Calcutta, 1897). The Kapilavastu of Hiuen Tsang is certainly represented by Tilaura Kōṭ and neighbouring ruins.

[4] On upper course of the Rāptī,

the Bodhi tree of Gayā, where he overcame the powers of darkness; and to Kusinagara, where he died.[1] At all these holy places the king granted liberal endowments, and set up memorials, some of which have come to light in these latter days, after long ages of oblivion.

242 B.C. Asoka's retrospect.

In the year 242 B.C., when his reign had lasted for about thirty years, Asoka undertook a formal retrospect of all the measures adopted by him in furtherance of the ethical reforms which he had at heart, and took the opportunity of laying down a concise code of regulations concerning the slaughter and mutilation of animals, practices which he regarded with abhorrence.[2]

240 B.C. His ordination as a monk.

About two years later, Asoka, recognizing fully the validity of the Buddhist doctrine that no layman could attain *nirvāna*, determined to ensure his final deliverance from rebirth so far as possible by entering the order of monks, and actually assuming the yellow robe. He does not appear to have abdicated at the same time; for edicts issued probably six years later were still published by his authority and with his sanction; although it is probable that he withdrew from active participation in secular affairs, and left the administration in the hands of his ministers, and the heir-apparent or Crown Prince.[3] But this supposition is not necessary to explain his conduct. His submission to the Ten Precepts, or ascetic rules, binding upon ordained monks, did not inevitably involve his withdrawal from the duties of royalty; and he would have found no difficulty in formally complying with the obligations of mendicancy by a begging tour within the spacious palace precincts.

Parallel cases.

The case of Asoka is not unique. A perfect parallel is furnished by Chinese history, which records that Hsiao Yen,

near the point where it leaves the hills (*J. R. A. S.*, Jan., 1900).

[1] In Nepāl, beyond the first range of hills (*J. R. A. S.*, Jan., 1902). H.H. General Khadga Shamsher Jang Bahādur agrees with me in placing Kuśinagara in Nepāl, and believes the site to be at the junction of the Little, or Eastern, Rāptī (Achiravatī) with the Gandak (Hiranyavatī). His position is further west than that which I selected, but almost in the same latitude, and is very likely to be correct (*Pioneer Mail*, Allahabad, Feb. 26, 1904).

[2] The Seven Pillar Edicts.

[3] The chronology here is based upon Dr. Fleet's papers in *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, but is open to doubt.

the first emperor of the Liang dynasty, who was a devout Buddhist, actually adopted the monastic garb, on two occasions, in 527 and 529 A.D.[1] A less completely parallel case is supplied by the story of a Jain king of Western India in the twelfth century, who assumed the title of 'Lord of the Order', and at various periods of his reign bound himself by vows of continence and abstinence.[2]

Whatever may have been the exact procedure adopted, there is no doubt that Asoka was formally ordained as a monk; and the fact was so notorious that a thousand years later his statues were still to be seen, vested in monastic garb.[3] The latter years of his reign undoubtedly were devoted in a special degree to works of piety; but there is no sufficient reason for believing the legends which depict the emperor in his old age as a dotard devotee incapable of administering the affairs of the empire.

232 or 231 B.C. Death of Asoka.

The edicts which seem to be the latest, and, according to the interpretation of some scholars, are dated 256 years after the death of Buddha, that is to say, in the year 232 or 231 B.C., must have been published very shortly before the emperor's death; which is supposed to have occurred at a holy hill near Rājagriha, the ancient capital of Magadha.

Buddhist council.

A large body of tradition affirms that a Buddhist church council was held at the capital by the command and under the patronage of Asoka in order to settle the canon of scripture and reform abuses in monastic discipline. Although the legendary details of the constitution and proceedings of the council clearly are unhistorical, the fact of the assembly may be accepted without hesitation. If it had met before the thirty-first or thirty-second year of the reign in which the emperor published the Pillar Edicts, recording his retrospect of the measures taken for the promotion of piety, the council assuredly would have been mentioned in those documents. But they are silent on the subject, and the fair inference is that the council was held at a date subsequent

[1] Giles, *Hist. Chinese Liter.*, 1901, p. 133; *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 236.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* vi, 154.

[3] Takakusu, *I-tsing*, ch. xi, p. 73.

to their publication, and after the emperor had assumed the monastic robe.

Bhābrā Edict.

The two documents in the whole series of the Asoka inscriptions which are avowedly Buddhist in explicit terms—the Bhābrā Edict and the recently discovered pillar inscription at Sārnāth[1]—apparently belong to the same period as the council, and are to be interpreted as addresses of the emperor-monk to his brethren of the order.

Extent of empire.

The extent of the enormous empire governed by Asoka can be ascertained with approximate accuracy. On the north-west, it extended to the Hindū Kush mountains, and included most of the territory now under the rule of the Ameer of Afghanistan, as well as the whole, or a large part, of Balūchistan, and all Sind. The secluded valleys of Suwāt and Bājaur probably were more or less thoroughly controlled by the imperial officers, and the valleys of Kashmīr and Nepāl certainly were integral parts of the empire. Asoka built a new capital in the vale of Kashmīr, named Srīnagar, at a short distance from the city which now bears that name.[2]

Asoka in Nepāl.

In the Nepāl valley, he replaced the older capital Manju Pātan, by a city named Pātan, Lalita Pātan, or Lalitpur, which still exists, two and a half miles to the south-east of Kāthmandū, the modern capital. Lalita Pātan, which subsequently became the seat of a separate principality, retains the special Buddhist stamp impressed upon it by Asoka. His foundation of this city was undertaken as a memorial of the visit which he paid to Nepāl, in 250 or 249 B.C., when he undertook the tour of the holy places. He was accompanied by his daughter Chārumatī, who adopted a religious life, and remained in Nepāl, when her imperial father returned to the plains. She founded a town called Devapatana, in memory of her husband Devapāla Kshatriya, and settled down to

[1] Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, viii, 166; Senart, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1907, p. 25; Venis, *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.), vol. iii (1907).

[2] Stein, *Rājataranginī*, transl., bk. I, v. 104; vol. ii, pp. 409, 411. The position of Asoka's capital is marked by the site known as Pāndrēthan, 'Old Town,' situated about three miles above modern Śrīnagar, to which the ancient name has been transferred.

the life of a nun at a convent built by her to the north of Pasupatināth, which bears her name to this day. Asoka treated Lalita Pātan as a place of great sanctity, erecting in it five great *stūpas*; one in the centre of the town, and four others outside the walls at the cardinal points. All these monuments still exist, and differ conspicuously from more recent edifices. Some minor buildings are also attributed to Asoka or his daughter.[1]

Extent eastward.

Eastwards, the empire comprised the whole of Bengal (Vanga) as far as the mouths of the Ganges, where Tāmralipti, the modern Tamlūk, was the principal port. The strip of coast to the north of the Godāvarī river, known as Kalinga, was annexed in 261 B.C. Further south, the Āndhra kingdom, between the Godāvarī and the Krishnā (Kistna), appears to have been treated as a protected state, administered by its own Rājas. On the south-east, the N. Pennār river may be regarded as the limit of the imperial jurisdiction.

Extent southward.

The Tamil states extending to the extremity of the Peninsula, and known as the Chola and Pāndya kingdoms, certainly were independent, as were the Keralaputra and Satiyaputra states on the south-western, or Malabar coast.[2] The southern frontier of the empire may be described approximately as a line drawn from the mouth of the Pennār river near Nellore on the eastern coast through Cuddapah and to the south of Chitaldroog (N. lat. 14° 26′ 38″) to the river Kalyānapuri on the western coast (about N. lat. 14°), which forms the northern boundary of the Tuluva country, probably representing the old kingdom of Satiyaputra.

[1] Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, ii, 198, 246–52; *Ind. Ant.* xiii, 412. The northern *stūpa* at Pātan is called Ipi Tūda by Mr. Bendall (*A Journey in Nepāl*, p. 12). Oldfield writes the name Epi, or Zimpi Tandu, and the Residency clerk writes it Impi. Zimpi Taudu appears to be correct (Lévi, *Le Népal*, vol. i, pp. 263, 331; ii, pp. 1-3, 344). This building, although now inside the town, is outside the old line of walls. The topography of Pātan agrees remarkably in some respects with that of Kuśinagara, as described by Hiuen Tsang, and I have sometimes felt inclined to identify the two places; but the difficulties in the way are apparently insuperable.

[2] Rock Edicts II, XIII.

Jungle tribes.

The wilder tribes on the north-western frontier and in the jungle tracts of the Vindhya mountains separating Northern from Southern India seem to have enjoyed a limited autonomy under the suzerainty of the paramount power. The empire comprised therefore, in modern terminology, Afghanistan south of the Hindū Kush, Balūchistan, Sind, the valley of Kashmīr, Nepāl, the lower Himalaya, and the whole of India Proper, except the southern extremity.

Viceroys.

The central regions seem to have been governed directly from Pātaliputra under the king's personal supervision. The outlying provinces were administered by viceroys, of whom, apparently, there were four. The ruler of the north-west was stationed at Taxila, and his jurisdiction may be assumed to have included the Panjāb, Sind, the countries beyond the Indus, and Kashmīr. The eastern territories, including the conquered kingdom of Kalinga, were governed by a viceroy stationed at Tosali, the exact position of which has not been ascertained. The western provinces of Mālwa, Guzerāt, and Kāthiāwār were under the government of a prince, whose head quarters were at the ancient city of Ujjain; and the southern provinces, beyond the Narbadā, were ruled by the fourth viceroy.[1]

Buildings.

Asoka was a great builder; and so deep was the impression made on the popular imagination by the extent and magnificence of his architectural works that legend credited him with the erection of eighty-four thousand *stūpas*, or sacred cupolas, within the space of three years. When Fa-hien, the first Chinese pilgrim, visited Pātaliputra, the capital, at the beginning of the fifth century A. D., in the reign of Chandragupta Vikramāditya, the palace of Asoka was still standing, and was deemed to have been wrought by supernatural agency.

'The royal palace and halls in the midst of the city, which exist now as of old, were all made by the spirits which he

[1] Minor Rock Edict, No. I (Brahmagiri text), was issued 'by order of the prince and magistrates at Suvarṇagiri'. Dr. Fleet holds that Suvarṇagiri was one of the hills (Sōngiri) at Old Rājagṛiha, to which Asoka retired after his supposed abdication.

employed, and which piled up the stones, reared the walls and gates, and executed the elegant carving and inlaid sculpture work, in a way which no human hands of this world could accomplish.'

These stately buildings have all vanished, and their remains lie buried for the most part beyond hope of recovery deep below the silt of the Ganges and Sōn rivers, overlaid by the East India railway, the city of Patna, and the civil station of Bankipore. Slight and desultory excavations have revealed enough to attest the substantial truth of the pilgrim's enthusiastic description, and I myself have seen two huge and finely carved sandstone capitals—one with the acanthus-leaf ornament—dug up near Bankipore.

The numerous and magnificent monasteries founded by Asoka have shared the fate of his palaces, and are ruined beyond recognition.

Sāñchi *stūpas*.

The only buildings of the Asokan period which have escaped destruction, and remain in a state of tolerable preservation, are those forming the celebrated group of *stūpas*, or cupolas, at and near Sānchi, in Central India, not very far from Ujjain, where Asoka held court as viceroy of the west before his accession to the throne. The elaborately carved gateways of the railing round the principal monument, which have been so often described and figured, may have been constructed to the order of the great Maurya, and certainly are not much later than his time.

Monolithic pillars.

The massive monolithic sandstone pillars, inscribed and uninscribed, which Asoka erected in large numbers throughout the home provinces of the empire, some of which are fifty feet in height, and about fifty tons in weight, are not only worthy monuments of his magnificence, but also of the highest interest as the earliest known examples of the Indian stone-cutter's art in architectural forms. The style is Persian rather than Greek, and the mechanical execution is perfect.

Cave-dwellings.

The caves with highly polished walls excavated in the intensely hard quartzose gneiss of the Barābar hills near Gayā by order of Asoka, for the use of the Ājīvika ascetics,

a penitential order closely connected with the Jains,[1] recall Egyptian work by the mastery displayed over intractable material.

Inscriptions.

The most interesting monuments of Asoka are his famous inscriptions, more than thirty in number, incised upon rocks, boulders, cave-walls, and pillars, which supply the only safe foundation for the history of his reign, and must be briefly described before I can enter upon the discussion of his doctrine and policy. The more important documents which expound fully both his principles of government and his system of practical ethics, supply many interesting autobiographical details. The shorter documents include dedications, brief commemorative records, and other matter; but all, even the most concise, have interest and value.[2]

Area covered by inscriptions.

The area covered by the inscriptions comprises nearly the whole of India (see map), and extends from the Himalayas to Mysore, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea.

Language.

The documents are all written in various forms of Prākrit, that is to say, vernacular dialects closely allied to both literary Sanskrit and the Pāli of the Ceylonese Buddhist books, but not identical with either. They were therefore obviously intended to be read and understood by the public generally, and their existence presupposes a widely diffused knowledge of the art of writing. The inscriptions designed for public instruction were placed either in suitable positions on high roads or at frequented places of pilgrimage where their contents were ensured the greatest possible publicity.

Script.

Two recensions of the Fourteen Rock Edicts, inscribed on rocks at places near the north-western frontier of India, were executed in the script locally current, now generally known to scholars as the Kharoshthī; which is a modified form of an ancient Aramaic alphabet, written from right to left, introduced into the Panjāb during the period of Persian

[1] The Ajīvikas were not Vaishnavas, as generally asserted (Bhandarkar, 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions,' in *J. Bo. R. A. S.*, vol. xx, 1902).

[2] Although the inscriptions are anonymous (*Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 265), their attribution to Asoka is certain.

domination in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. All the other inscriptions are incised in one or other variety of the early Brāhmī alphabet, from which the Devanāgarī and other forms of the modern script in Northern and Western India have been evolved, and which is read from left to right.[1]

Eight classes

The inscriptions readily fall into eight classes, which may be arranged in approximate chronological order as follows :—

I. The Fourteen Rock Edicts, in seven recensions, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth regnal years, as reckoned from the coronation, corresponding roughly to 257, 256 B.C.

II. The two Kalinga edicts, issued probably in 256 B.C., and concerned only with the newly conquered province.

III. The three dedicatory Cave Inscriptions at Barābar near Gayā, 257 and 250 B.C.

IV. The two Tarāi Pillar Inscriptions, 249 B.C.

V. The Seven Pillar Edicts, in six recensions, 243 and 242 B.C.

VI. The Supplementary Pillar Edicts, about 240 B.C., or later.

VII. The Minor Rock Edicts, perhaps dated in the year 256 after the death of Buddha, 232 or 231 B.C.

VIII. The Bhābrā Edict, of about the same date as the Minor Rock Edicts.

The Fourteen Rock Edicts.

The Fourteen Rock Edicts contain an exposition of Asoka's principles of government and ethical system, each edict being devoted to a special subject. The different recensions vary considerably, and some do not include all the fourteen edicts. The whole series, in all its varieties, is confined to remote frontier provinces, which were under the government of viceroys. The emperor evidently was of opinion that in the home provinces, under his immediate control, it was not necessary to engrave his instructions on the rocks, other and more convenient methods of publication being available. But many years later he perpetuated

[1] Prof. Rapson is of opinion that 'the region in which both the Kharoṣṭhī and the Brāhmī scripts were at home may be fairly identified with the Jalandhar District of the Punjab' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 810).

his revised code in the home provinces also by incising it upon several of the monolithic monumental pillars which it was his pleasure to erect in numerous localities.[1]

The Kalinga Edicts.

The two Kalinga Edicts are special supplements to the series of the Fourteen Rock Edicts intended to fix the principles on which the administration of the newly conquered province and the wild tribes dwelling on its borders should be conducted. They were substituted for certain edicts (Nos. XI, XII, XIII) of the regular series, which were omitted from the Kalinga recension, as being unsuitable for local promulgation.[1]

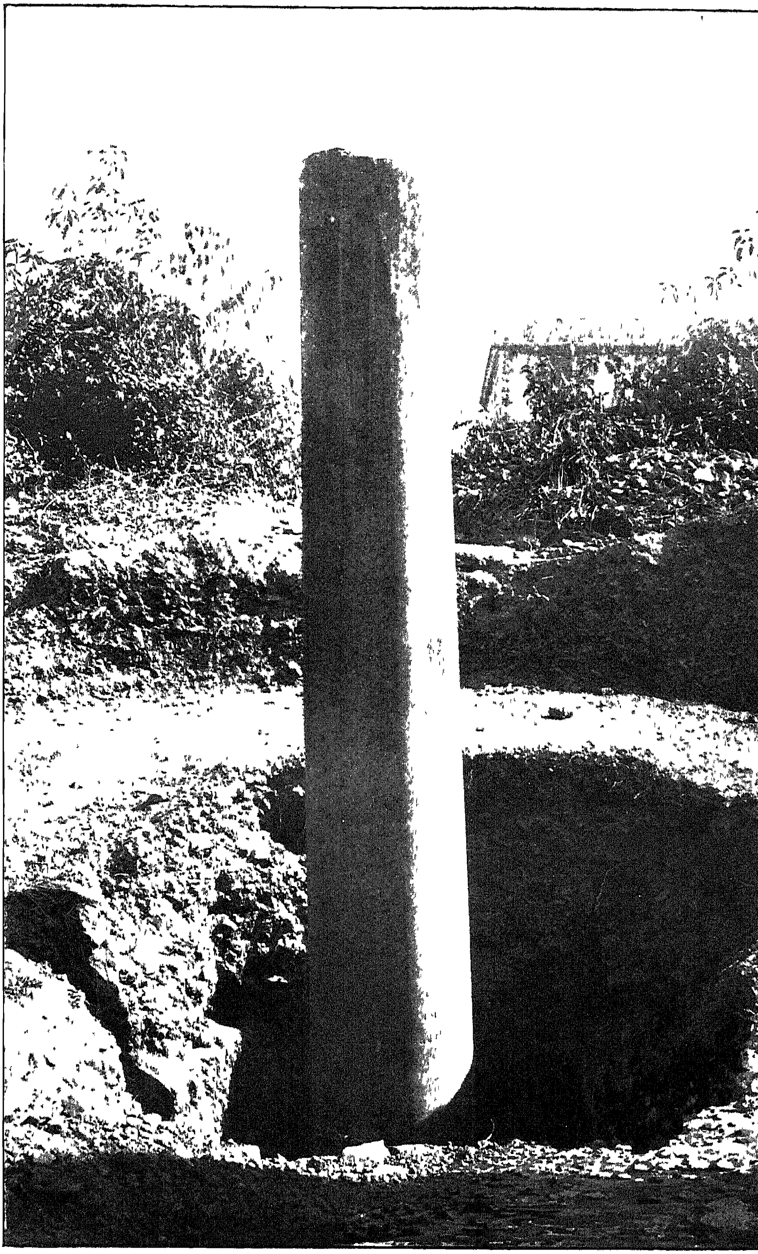
Cave Inscriptions.

The three Cave Inscriptions at Barābar in the Gayā district are merely brief dedications of costly cave dwellings for the use of a monastic sect known as Ajīvika, the members of which went about naked, and were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind. These records are chiefly of interest as a decisive proof that Asoka was sincere in his solemn declaration that he honoured all sects; for the Ajīvikas had little or nothing in common with the Buddhists, and were intimately connected with the Jains.

Tarāi Pillar Inscriptions.

The two Tarāi Pillar Inscriptions, although extremely brief, are of much interest for many reasons, one of which is that they prove beyond question the truth of the literary tradition that Asoka performed a solemn pilgrimage to the sacred spots of the Buddhist Holy Land. The Rummindēī, or Padaria, inscription, which is in absolutely perfect preservation, has the great merit of determining, beyond the possibility of doubt, the exact position of the famous Lumbinī Garden, where, according to the legend, Gautama Buddha first saw the light. This determination

[1] The positions of the Fourteen Rock Edicts are: (1) Shāhbāzgaṛhi, in the Yusufzī country, forty miles north-east of Peshāwar; (2) Mansērā, in Hazārā District (Uraśā), Panjāb, the Kharoshṭhī script being used at both these places; (3) Kālsī, in the Lower Himalayas, fifteen miles west from Mussoorie (Mansūrī); (4) Sopārā, in Thānā District, near Bombay; (5) the Girnār hill, near Jūnāgaṛh, in the Kāṭhiāwār peninsula; (6) near Dhauli, to the south of Bhuvanēśvar in the Cuttack (Katak) District, Orissa; and (7) at Jaugada in the Ganjām District, Madras. The last two places were included in Kalinga; and the two Kalinga Edicts are added as appendices to the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa texts. See map.



THE BIRTH-PLACE OF BUDDHA

(RUMMINDĒĪ PILLAR AND TEMPLE)

either solves, or supplies the key to, a multitude of problems. The companion record at Niglīva, which is less perfectly preserved, gives the unexpected and interesting information that Asoka's devotion was not confined to Gautama Buddha, but included in its catholic embrace his predecessors, the 'former Buddhas'.[1]

The Pillar Edicts.

The Seven Pillar Edicts, issued in their complete form in or about the year 242 B.C., when Asoka had reigned for some thirty years, and was nearing the close of his career of activity in worldly affairs, must be read along with the Fourteen Rock Edicts, to which they refer, and of which they may be considered an appendix. The principles enunciated in the earlier instructions are reiterated and emphasized in the later; the regulations enforcing the sanctity of animal life are amplified and codified; and the series closes with the most valuable of all the documents, Pillar Edict No. VII, preserved on one monument only, which recounts in orderly fashion the measures adopted by the emperor during the course of his long reign to promote 'the growth of piety'.

The Supplementary Pillar Edicts, being very imperfectly preserved, are of less importance than most of the other documents, but still of interest and significance.[2]

The Minor Rock Edicts.

The Minor Rock Edicts, on the other hand, although of small bulk, are in some respects the most interesting of the inscriptions, and present a puzzling enigma, or series of enigmas. By the efforts of many scholars, including Dr. Fleet,

[1] The Rummindēī ruins lie four miles inside the Nepalese border, and a little to the west of the Tilār river, in approximately E. long. 85° 11′, N. lat. 25° 58′. Padariā is a neighbouring village. The Niglīva pillar, which apparently has been moved from its original position, now stands about thirteen miles to the north-west from Rummindēī. For facsimile of Rummindēī inscription, see *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, plate ii.

[2] The Pillar Edicts are found on two pillars at Delhi, one brought from Topra near Umballa, and the other from Meerut (Mīrath); at Allāhābād; and at Lauṛiyā-Ararāj, Lauṛiyā-Nandangaṛh, and Rāmpurwā, in the Champāran District of Tirhūt. Two supplementary edicts, the Queen's and the Kauśāmbī, are added on the Allāhābād pillar, which probably was brought from Kauśāmbī (for site of which see *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 503; 1904, p. 249). A document, much mutilated, but partly identical with the Kauśāmbī Edict, is inscribed on a pillar at Sāñchi. The newly discovered pillar inscription at Sārnāth near Benares is concerned with monastic regulations.

the latest interpreter, the problem is being gradually solved, although considerable uncertainty as to the meaning of parts of the documents still remains. It now seems to be fairly well established that these Minor Rock Edicts were published thirty-eight complete years after Asoka's coronation, or about forty-two years after his accession, and that they must therefore be referred to either the year 232 or 231 B.C., the last year of the aged emperor's life. They are supposed by some scholars to be dated expressly 256 years after the death of Buddha, and, if this is the case, they fix that event as having occurred in or about the year 487 B.C., according to the belief current at the court of Pātaliputra, only two centuries and a half after its occurrence. That date for the death of Buddha can be defended for independent reasons, even if the figures 256 should be proved not to express a date.[1]

The Bhābrā Edict.

The extremely curious Bhābrā Edict should be referred apparently to the same period as the Minor Rock Edicts, that is to say, to the closing years of Asoka's life; when, although still retaining his imperial dignity, he had assumed the monastic robe and rule, and had abandoned the active direction of worldly affairs to others. This document, recorded, close to a recension of one of the Minor Rock Edicts, at a lonely monastery in the Rājputāna hills, is an address by Asoka, as king of Magadha,[2] to the Buddhist monastic order generally, directing the attention of monks and nuns, as well as of the laity, male and female, to seven passages of scripture deemed by the royal judgement to be specially edifying. But, while earnestly recommending devout meditation upon and profound study of these particular texts, the

[1] The first Minor Rock Edict is known in six recensions, namely, three in Northern Mysore at localities near one another, called Siddāpura, Jatinga-Rāmeśvara (N. lat. 14° 50′, E. long. 76° 48′), and Brahmagiri; at Sahasrām in Western Bengal; Rūpnāth in the Central Provinces; and Bairāt in Rājputana. The second Minor Rock Edict is added to the Mysore texts only. The Bhābrā Edict is incised on a boulder found on the top of the Bairāt hill, at the foot of which the Minor Rock Edicts were engraved. For bibliography of the Asoka inscriptions see Appendix H at end of this chapter.

[2] The adjective *Māgadhe* is in the nominative, and must be construed as in the text (Dr. Bloch).

princely preacher is careful to add the explanation that 'all that has been said by the Venerable Buddha has been well said', whereas the selection of texts is merely the work of the king's individual judgement. The importance of this edict in the history of Buddhism cannot be easily overrated.

Relation of epigraphic and traditional evidence

The foregoing summary exposition will perhaps suffice to enable the reader to form some notion of the extraordinary interest attaching to the unique series of inscriptions issued by Asoka between the years 257 and 231 B.C., which is the only safe foundation on which to build a history of his momentous reign. But tradition has its value as a secondary source of information, and a few words in explanation of the character of the traditional evidence for the Asokan history are indispensable.

The Asokan legend.

The rank growth of legend which has clustered round the name of Asoka bears eloquent testimony to the commanding influence of his personality. In the Buddhist world his fame is as great as that of Charlemagne in mediaeval Europe, and the tangle of mythological legend which obscures the genuine history of Asoka may be compared in mass with that which drapes the figures of Alexander, Arthur, and Charlemagne. The Asokan legend is not all either fiction or myth, and includes some genuine historical tradition; but is no better suited to serve as the foundation of sober history than the stories of the Morte d'Arthur or Pseudo-Kallisthenes are adapted to form the bases of chronicles of the doings of the British champion or the Macedonian conqueror. This obvious canon of criticism has been forgotten by most writers upon the Maurya period, who have begun at the wrong end with the late legends, instead of at the right end with the contemporary inscriptions.

Two streams of legend.

The legends have reached us in two main streams, the Ceylonese and the North-Indian. The accident that the Ceylonese varieties of the stories happen to be recorded in books which assume the form of chronicles with a detailed chronology, and have been known to European readers for seventy years, has given to the southern tales an illusory air

of special authenticity. The earliest of the Ceylonese chronicles, the Dīpavamsa, which probably was compiled late in the fourth century A.D., is some six centuries posterior to the death of Asoka, and has little claim to be regarded as a first-rate authority, although deserving respectful consideration.

Higher authority of the northern legends.

The North-Indian legends are at least as old; but being recorded in fragments scattered through many books, Indian, Nepalese, Chinese, and Tibetan, have received scant consideration. All legendary material, of course, must be used with extreme caution, and only as a supplement to authentic data; but a moment's consideration will show that legends preserved in Northern India, the seat of Asoka's imperial power, are more likely to transmit genuine tradition than those which reached the distant island of Ceylon in translations brought nobody knows how, when, or whence, and subsequently largely modified by local influences. This presumption is verified when the two groups of legends are compared; and then it clearly appears that in certain matters of importance where they differ, the Northern version is distinctly the more credible.

APPENDIX H

The Inscriptions of Asoka; Bibliographical Note[1]

Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi.

The only edition purporting to give Asoka's edicts and miscellaneous inscriptions as a whole is the work published by M. Émile Senart in 1881 and 1886, which included all the documents known up to the latter date.[2] But since then several new inscriptions have been discovered, and perfect reproductions of those known to M. Senart only in extremely faulty copies have been prepared and published, with the result that M. Senart's book, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, is now largely obsolete, notwithstanding its many high merits.

[1] A more detailed bibliography up to 1902 will be found in R. Otto Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, pp. 1–5 (Strassburg, 1902).

[2] Cunningham's volume, *Inscriptions of Asoka* (Calcutta, 1877), necessarily omits the Minor Rock Edicts from Mysore, which had not been discovered at the time of publication, and it cannot be consulted with much advantage.

The only complete collection of translations into any language is that given in my little book, *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1901); the versions in which were based upon Buhler's renderings, and now require revision in some passages. The Sārnāth inscription has been discovered since the publication of that volume. The popular work, *König Asoka*, by the late Prof. E. Hardy, does not discuss the inscriptions minutely. Collected translations.

A competent scholar could not be better employed than in producing a thoroughly satisfactory edition of the texts in facsimile, accompanied by a complete translation, and equipped with adequate notes and dissertations, dealing with the palaeography, vocabulary, grammar, history, both political and religious, and all the other topics suggested by a minute study of these wonderful records; which may assert a reasonable claim to rank as the most remarkable and interesting group of inscriptions in the world. Need of new edition.

I. The Fourteen Rock Edicts.

Senart—*Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, vol. i; Buhler—edition and transcription, with facsimiles, of the Girnār, Shāhbāzgarhi, Mansērā, and Kālsī recensions, with translation of the Shāhbāzgarhi text, in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, pp. 447–72. The same scholar published a special edition, transcription, and translation, with facsimile, of the Shāhbāzgarhi text of Edict XII in *Epigr. Ind.*, vol. i, p. 16; and edited, transcribed, and translated, with facsimiles, the Dhauli and Jaugada recensions in Burgess's *Amarāvatī* (*Arch. Survey S. I.*), pp. 114–25. The Girnār text is well reproduced by a photograph and a series of collotype plates from paper-casts in Burgess's *Kāthiāwār and Kachh* (*Arch. S. W. I.*, vol. ii), pp. 93–127; but the translations there given are obsolete. Revised version of Edict II in *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 206. Edict III discussed by Mr. F. W. Thomas, ibid., 1907.

II. The Kalinga Edicts.

Senart—op. cit., vol. ii, ch. iii; and revised transcript, edition, and translation in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v (1890), pp. 82–102; Buhler edited, transcribed, and translated them, with facsimiles, in Burgess's *Amarāvatī*, pp. 125–31 (1887).

III. The Cave Inscriptions.

Buhler edited, transcribed, and translated them with facsimiles, in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 361. This, the only good edition, includes the Daśaratha inscriptions in the Nāgārjuni caves.

IV. The Tarāi Pillar Inscriptions.

Photographic facsimile of impression of the Rummindēī inscription in *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, pl. ii ; facsimile and transcript in *J. R. A. S.* for 1897, p. 618 Both inscriptions edited by Buhler in *Epigr. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 4. See also *Report on Explorations in the Nepalese Tarāi* in *Reports Archaeol. S. India, Imp. S.*, 1900. Prof. Pischel has published a revised translation of the Rummindēī (Paḍariyā) inscription in *Sitzungsb. d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, 1903, which is discussed in *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 1.

V. The Seven Pillar Edicts.

Senart—revised edition, transcript, and translation, without facsimiles, in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvii, pp. 303–7 ; vol. xviii, pp. 1, 73, 105, 300. Buhler edited, transcribed, and translated the whole series, with facsimiles of some recensions, in *Epigr. Ind.*, vol. ii, pp. 245–74. Translations by Kern of Nos. II, IV, VI in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, pp. 247, 273.

VI. Supplementary Pillar Edicts.

Buhler edited, transcribed, and translated the Sāñchi Edict, with facsimile, in *Epigr. Ind.*, vol. ii, p. 87, and revised it, ibid. p. 367 Senart gave revised transcript and translation of the Queen's Edict in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xviii (1889), p. 308 ; and transcribed the imperfect Kauśāmbī Edict, ibid. p. 309. Modified facsimiles of both these inscriptions are given by Cunningham, *Corpus*, pl. xxii. The newly discovered Sārnāth inscription has been discussed by Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, viii, 166 ; Venis, *J. and Proc., A. S. B.*, 1907 ; and Senart, *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1907, p. 25.

VII. The Minor Rock Edicts.

Bühler edited, transcribed, and translated the Siddāpura recensions, with facsimiles and references to earlier publications, in *Epigr. Ind.*, vol. iii, pp. 135–42. He also eidted, transcribed, and translated, with facsimiles, the Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt recensions in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. vi, p. 155, and xxii, p. 299. These articles must be read together. See also ibid. xxvi, 334. Excellent facsimiles of the three versions at and near Siddāpura are given by Mr. Rice in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. xi (Bangalore, 1903). Important changes in reading and translation have been proposed by Dr. Fleet in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 829, and ibid., 1904, pp. 1–26, 355

VIII. The Bhābrā Edict.

Senart—revised edition, transcription, and translation in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xx, p. 165; facsimile, prepared by Burgess, in *Journal Asiatique* for 1897. Kern—transcription and translation in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v (1876), p. 257. See also *J. R. A. S.* for 1898, p. 639; 1901, pp. 314, 577.

Casts and photographs.

For list of casts of the inscriptions in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, see *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*, Appendix, p. 196. Mr. Caddy describes the tour undertaken for the purpose of preparing those casts in *Proc. A. S. B.* for 1895, pp. 152–69. The Madras Museum possesses a cast of the Brahmagiri version of the Minor Rock Edicts.

For photographs in Indian Museum, Calcutta, and India Office, London, see *List of the Photographic Negatives*, published by Superintendent of Government Printing, India (Calcutta, 1900). The India Office Library possesses a complete set of impressions of the Girnār version of the Rock Edicts.

CHAPTER VII

ASOKA MAURYA (CONTINUED); AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Dhamma, or Law of Piety.

THE edicts are devoted mainly to the exposition, inculcation, and enforcement of a scheme of practical ethics, or rule of conduct, which Asoka called *Dhamma*. No English word or phrase is exactly equivalent to the Prākrit *dhaṁma* (Sanskrit *dharma*), but the expression Law of Piety, or simply Piety, comes tolerably close to the meaning of the Indian term. The validity of this Law of Piety is assumed in the edicts, and no attempt is made to found it upon any theological or metaphysical basis. Theological ideas are simply ignored by Asoka, as they were by his master, Gautama; and the current Hindu philosophy of rebirth, inaccurately called metempsychosis, is taken for granted, and forms the background of the ethical teaching.

Sanctity of animal life.

The leading tenet of Asoka's Buddhism, as of the cognate Jain system, and some varieties of Brahmanical Hinduism, was a passionate, uncompromising belief in the sanctity of animal life. The doctrine of the absolute, unconditional right of the meanest animal to retain the breath of life until the latest moment permitted by nature, is that of the edicts; and was based upon the belief that all living creatures, including men, animals, gods, and demons, form links in an endless chain of existence, or rather of 'becoming'.[1]

Doctrines of re-birth and *karma*.

The being that is now a god in heaven may be reborn in the course of aeons as an insect; and the insect, in its turn, may work up to the rank of a god. This belief, associated

[1] The first of the three 'characteristic doctrines of Buddhism' is that 'all the constituents of being are transitory' (πάντα ῥεῖ); the second, that they are all misery; and the third, that they are lacking in an Ego (Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. xiv).

with the faith that the mode of rebirth is conditioned by the *karma*, the net ethical result, or balance of good or evil of the life of each creature at the moment of its termination, lies deep down at the roots of Indian thought, and is inseparably bound up with almost every form of Indian religion. Sometimes it is combined with theories which recognize the existence of a personal soul, but it is also firmly held by persons who utterly deny all forms of the soul theory.

Comparative disregard of human life.

It is easy to understand that believers in ideas of this kind may be led logically to regard the life of an insect as entitled to no less respect than that of a man. In practice, indeed, the sanctity of animal was placed above that of human life; and the absurd spectacle was sometimes witnessed of a man being put to death for killing an animal, or even for eating meat. The most pious Buddhist and Jain kings had no hesitation about inflicting capital punishment upon their subjects, and Asoka himself continued to sanction the death penalty throughout his reign. He was content to satisfy his humanitarian feelings by a slight mitigation of the sanguinary penal code inherited from his stern grandfather in conceding to condemned prisoners three days' grace to prepare for death.[1]

Early practice of Asoka.

In early life Asoka is believed to have been a Brahmanical Hindu, specially devoted to Siva, a god whose consort delights in bloody sacrifices; and he appears to have had no scruple about the shedding of blood. Thousands of living creatures used to be slain on the occasion of a banquet (*samāja*) to supply the kitchens of the overgrown royal household with curries for a single day. As he became gradually imbued with the spirit of Buddhist teaching, this wholesale daily slaughter became abominable in his eyes, and was stopped; only three living creatures at the most, namely, two peacocks and one deer, being killed each day; and in 257 B.C., even this limited butchery was put an end to.[2]

[1] Pillar Edict IV.

[2] Rock Edict I. Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's comments in 'Epigraphic Notes and Questions' (*J. Bo. R. A. S.*, 1902) deserve attention. The late Mr. E. Thomas

Abolition of the royal hunt.

Two years earlier, in 259 B.C., Asoka had abolished the royal hunt, which formed such an important element in the amusements of his grandfather's court. 'In times past,' he observes, 'their Majesties were wont to go out on pleasure-tours, during which hunting and other similar amusements used to be practised.' But His Sacred and Gracious Majesty no longer cared for such frivolous outings, and had substituted for them solemn progresses devoted to inspection of the country and people, visits and largess to holy men, and preaching and discussion of the Law of Piety.[1]

Code of 243 B.C.

As time went on, Asoka's passionate devotion to the doctrine of the sanctity of animal life grew in intensity; and, in 243 B.C., resulted in the production of a stringent code of regulations applicable to all classes of the population throughout the empire, without distinction of creed. Many kinds of animals were absolutely protected from slaughter in any circumstances; and the slaying of animals commonly used for food by the flesh-eating population, although not totally prohibited, was hedged round by severe restrictions. On fifty-six specified days in the year, killing under any pretext was categorically forbidden; and in many ways the liberty of the subject was very seriously contracted.[2] While Asoka lived, these regulations were, no doubt, strictly enforced by the special officers appointed for the purpose; and it is not unlikely that deliberate breach of the more important regulations was visited with the capital penalty, as it was later in the days of Harsha.

Reverence.

The second cardinal doctrine inculcated and insisted on by Asoka was that of the obligation of reverence to parents, elders, and preceptors. Conversely, superiors, while receiving their due of reverence, were required to treat their inferiors, including servants, slaves, and all living creatures, with kindness and consideration. As a corollary to these obliga-

believed that Asoka was a Jain in early life, but without sufficient reason.

[1] Rock Edict VIII. The formula, 'His Sacred and Gracious Majesty,' is a fair equivalent of *devānaṁpiya piyadasi*, which words formed an official title, and cannot be rendered faithfully by etymological analysis.

[2] Pillar Edict V. Compare Chāṇakya's rules (*Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 55).

tions, men were taught that the spirit which inspires reverence on the one side, and kindness on the other, should further induce them to behave with courteous decorum to relatives, ascetics, and Brahmans, and likewise to practise liberality to the same classes, as well as to friends and acquaintances.

Truthfulness.

The third primary duty laid upon men was that of truthfulness. These three guiding principles are most concisely formulated in the Second Minor Rock Edict, which may be quoted in full:—

'Thus saith His Majesty:

"Father and mother must be obeyed; similarly, respect for living creatures must be enforced; truth must be spoken. These are the virtues of the Law of Piety which must be practised. Similarly, the teacher must be reverenced by the pupil, and proper courtesy must be shown to relations.

This is the ancient standard of piety—this leads to length of days, and according to this men must act".'

Toleration.

Among secondary duties, a high place was given to that of showing toleration for and sympathy with the beliefs and practices of others; and a special edict, No. XII of the Rock series, was devoted to the exposition of this topic. The subjects of the imperial moralist were solemnly warned to abstain from speaking evil of their neighbours' faith; remembering that all forms of religion alike aim at the attainment of self-control and purity of mind, and are thus in agreement about essentials, however much they may differ in externals.

Asoka's practice.

Asoka openly avowed his readiness to act upon these latitudinarian principles by doing reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics or householders, by means of donations and in other ways. The Cave Inscriptions, which record costly gifts bestowed upon the Ajīvikas, a sect of self-mortifying ascetics, more nearly allied to the Jains than the Buddhists, testify that Asoka, like many other ancient kings of India, really adopted the policy of universal toleration and concurrent endowment.[1]

[1] The notion of toleration being a royal duty still survives. Bühler was 'told in Rājputāna, a rājā ought not to be exclusive in the

Limitations

But his toleration, although perfectly genuine, must be understood with two limitations. In the first place, all Indian religions, with which alone Asoka was concerned, had much in common, and were all alike merely variant expressions of Hindu modes of thought and feeling. There was no such gap dividing them as that which yawns between Islam and Purānic Brahmanism. In the second place, the royal toleration, although perfect as regarding beliefs, did not necessarily extend to all overt practices. Sacrifices involving the death of a victim, which are absolutely indispensable for the correct worship of some of the gods, were categorically prohibited, at least at the capital, from an early period in the reign;[1] and were further restricted, in all parts of the empire, by the code promulgated later in the Pillar Edicts. The conscientious objector was not permitted to allege his conscience as a justification for acts disapproved on principle by the government. Men might believe what they liked, but must do as they were told.

True charity.

While almsgiving was commended, the higher doctrine was taught that 'there is no such charity as the charitable gift of the Law of Piety; no such distribution as the distribution of piety'.[2] The sentiment recurs in curiously similar language in Cromwell's earliest extant letter. He wrote from St. Ives:—'Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies; to build material temples is judged a work of piety; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable, truly pious.'[3]

True ceremonial.

Asoka cared little for ritual, and was inclined to look with some scorn upon ordinary ceremonies, which, as he observes, 'bear little fruit, and are of doubtful efficacy.' Just as true charity consists in a man's efforts to diffuse a knowledge of the Law of Piety among his fellow creatures, so true ceremonial consists in the fulfilment of that law, which 'bears

point of worship, but favour all the various sects among his subjects' (*Ind. Ant.*, vi. 183). This principle has been acted on frequently.

[1] Rock Edict I.

[2] Rock Edict XI.

[3] Letter dated Jan. 11, 1635, in Carlyle's edition.

great fruit'; and includes kind treatment of slaves and servants, honour to teachers, respect for life, and liberality to ascetics and Brahmans. These things, with others of the same kind, are called 'the ceremonial of piety'.[1]

Virtues inculcated.

The preacher looked to men's hearts rather than to their outward acts, and besought his congregation, the inhabitants of a vast empire, to cultivate the virtues of 'compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness, and saintliness'. He hoped that the growth of piety would be promoted by the imperial regulations devised for that purpose; but, while enforcing those regulations with all the power of an autocrat, he relied more upon the meditations of individuals, stimulated by his teaching. 'Of these two means,' he says, 'pious regulations are of small account, whereas meditation is of greater value.'[2]

Official propaganda.

Notwithstanding his avowal of the comparative powerlessness of regulations, the emperor did not neglect to provide official machinery for the promulgation of his doctrine, and the enforcement of his orders. All the officers of State, whom, in modern phraseology, we may call Lieutenant-Governors, Commissioners, and District Magistrates, were commanded to make use of opportunities during their periodical tours for convoking assemblies of the lieges, and instructing them in the whole duty of man. Certain days in the year were particularly set apart for this duty, and the officials were directed to perform it in addition to their ordinary work.[3]

Censors.

A special agency of Censors was also organized for the purpose of enforcing the regulations concerning the sanctity of animal life, and the observance of filial piety, in the most extended sense. These officers were expressly enjoined to concern themselves with all sects, and with every class of society, not excluding the royal family; while separate officials were charged with the delicate duty of supervising female morals.[4] In practice, this system must

[1] Rock Edict IX.

[2] Pillar Edict VII.

[3] Rock Edict III; the Kalinga Edicts.

[4] Rock Edicts V, XII; Pillar Edict VII.

have led to much espionage and tyranny; and, if we may judge from the proceedings of kings in later ages, who undertook a similar task, the punishments inflicted for breach of the imperial regulations must have been terribly severe.

Similar action of Harsha,

It is recorded by contemporary testimony that in the seventh century King Harsha, who obviously aimed at copying closely the institutions of Asoka, did not shrink from inflicting capital punishment without hope of pardon on any person who dared to infringe his commands by slaying any living thing, or using flesh as food in any part of his dominions.[1]

and of Kumārapāla.

In the twelfth century, Kumārapāla, king of Gujarāt in Western India, after his conversion to Jainism in 1159 A.D., took up the doctrine of the sanctity of animal life with the most inordinate zeal, and imposed savage penalties upon violators of his rules. An unlucky merchant, who had committed the atrocious crime of cracking a louse, was brought before the special court at Anhilwāra, and punished by the confiscation of his whole property, the proceeds of which were devoted to the building of a temple. Another wretch, who had outraged the sanctity of the capital by bringing in a dish of raw meat, was put to death. The special court constituted by Kumārapāla had functions similar to those of Asoka's Censors, and the working of the later institution sheds much light upon the unrecorded proceedings of the earlier one.[2]

Censors in Kashmīr,

More modern parallels to Asoka's Censors are not lacking. In 1876, when a pious Mahārāja was in power in Kashmīr, breaches of the commandments of the Hindu scriptures were treated by the State as offences, and investigated by a special court composed of five eminent pundits, belonging to families in which the office was hereditary, who determined appropriate penalties.[3]

and in the Deccan.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, and possibly

[1] Beal, *Records*, i, 214.

[2] Buhler, *Ueber das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemachandra*, Wien, 1889, p. 39. The whole story of Kumārapāla's conversion (pp. 29-42) is instructive as a commentary on the Asoka edicts.

[3] Bühler, 'Report of a Tour,' &c., in *J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.* (1876), vol. xii, Extra No., p. 21.

until a later date, similar hereditary Brahman officers exercised jurisdiction over offenders charged with breaches of caste rules in Khāndesh, the Deccan, and some parts of the Konkan, and imposed suitable expiation in the shape of fine, penance, or excommunication.[1]

These cases, ancient and modern, are sufficient to prove that when Asoka made an innovation by appointing Censors, officers who 'had never been appointed in all the long ages past', the new departure was in accordance with Hindu notions, and was consequently readily imitated in later times by rulers of various religions.

Almoner's department.

The practical piety of Asoka was exhibited in many works of benevolence, on which he dwells with evident pleasure and satisfaction. His theory of true charity did not hinder him from bestowing liberal alms. The distribution of the charitable grants made by the sovereign and members of the royal family was carefully supervised both by the Censors and other officials, who seem to have been organized in a Royal Almoner's department.[2]

Provision for travellers.

Special attention was devoted to the needs of travellers, which have at all times evoked the sympathy of pious Indians. The provision made for wayfarers, including the dumb animals, who were never forgotten by Asoka, is best described in the monarch's own words:—'On the roads,' he says, 'I have had banyan-trees planted to give shade to man and beast; I have had groves of mango-trees planted; and at every half *kōs* I have had wells dug; rest-houses have been erected; and numerous watering-places have been prepared here and there for the enjoyment of man and beast.'[3] Distances were carefully marked by pillars erected at convenient intervals, ever since Chandragupta's time.

Relief of sick.

The lively sympathy of Asoka with his suffering fellow creatures, human and animal, also found expression in the extensive provision of relief for the sick. Arrangements

[1] *Calcutta Review* (1851), vol. xv, p. xxv; quoted in *Ind. Ant.* (1903), vol. xxxii, p. 365.

[2] Rock Edicts V, XII; Pillar Edict VII; Queen's Edict.

[3] Pillar Edict VII; Rock Edict II. Dr. Fleet translates *adhakosikya* as 'at distances of eight *kōs*' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 417).

for the healing of man and beast were provided not only throughout all provinces of the empire, but also in the friendly independent kingdoms of Southern India and Hellenistic Asia; medicinal herbs and drugs, wherever lacking, being planted, imported, and supplied as needed.[1]

Animal hospital at Sūrat.

The animal hospitals, which still exist at Ahmadābād, Sūrat, and other towns in Western India, may be regarded as either survivals or copies of the institutions founded by the Maurya monarch. The following account of the Sūrat hospital, as it was maintained late in the eighteenth century, probably would have been applicable with little change to the prototype at Pātaliputra.

'The most remarkable institution in Sūrat is the Banyan Hospital, of which we have no description more recent than 1780. It then consisted of a large piece of ground enclosed by high walls, and subdivided into several courts or wards for the accommodation of animals. In sickness they were attended with the greatest care, and here found a peaceful asylum for the infirmities of old age.

'When an animal broke a limb, or was otherwise disabled, his owner brought him to the hospital, where he was received without regard to the caste or nation of his master. In 1772, this hospital contained horses, mules, oxen, sheep, goats, monkies, poultry, pigeons, and a variety of birds; also an aged tortoise, which was known to have been there seventy-five years. The most extraordinary ward was that appropriated for rats, mice, bugs, and other noxious vermin for whom suitable food was provided.'[2]

These hospitals usually are so administered as to cause, perhaps, more suffering than they prevent.

Foreign propaganda.

The active official propaganda carried on by various agencies throughout the empire and protected states did not satisfy the zeal of Asoka; who burned with a desire to diffuse the blessings of both his ethical system and distinctive Buddhist teaching in all the independent kingdoms with

[1] Rock Edict II.

[2] Hamilton, *Description of Hindostan* (1820), vol. i, p. 718, quarto ed.; Crooke, *Things Indian*, art. 'Pinjrapole' (Murray, 1906). The 'Banyan', or mercantile castes, who supported the hospital, are divided between the Jain and Vaishnava religions, both of which vie with Buddhism in an exaggerated regard for the sanctity of animal life.

which he was in touch; and with this purpose organized an efficient system of foreign missions worked under his personal supervision, the results of which are visible to this day. His conception of the idea of foreign missions on a grand scale was absolutely original, and produced a well-considered and successful scheme, carried out with method and thoroughness in conjunction and harmony with his measures of domestic propaganda.

Extent of missions.

Before the year 256 B.C., when the Rock Edicts were published collectively, the royal missionaries had been dispatched to all the protected states and tribes on the frontiers of the empire, to the independent kingdoms of Southern India, to Ceylon, and to the Hellenistic monarchies of Syria, Egypt, Cyrene, Macedonia, and Epirus, then governed respectively by Antiochos Theos, Ptolemy Philadelphos, Magas, Antigonos Gonatas, and Alexander. The missionary organization thus embraced three continents, Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Protected states and tribes.

The protected states and tribes brought in this way within the circle of Buddhist influence included the Kambōjas of Tibet,[1] with other Himalayan nations; the Gandhāras and Yavanas of the Kābul valley and regions still further west; the Bhojas, Pulindas, and Pitēnikas dwelling among the hills of the Vindhya range and Western Ghāts;[2] and the Āndhra kingdom between the Krishnā and Godāvarī rivers.

Southern kingdoms.

The Dravidian peoples of the extreme south, below the fourteenth degree of latitude, being protected by their remoteness, had escaped annexation to the northern empire. In Asoka's time their territories formed four independent kingdoms, the Chola, Pāndya, Keralaputra, and Satiyaputra. The capital of the Chola kingdom probably was Uraiyūr, or Old Trichinopoly, and that of the Pāndya realm doubtless was Korkai in the Tinnevelly District. The Keralaputra

[1] Nepalese tradition applies the name *Kambōja-deśa* to Tibet (Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 134).

[2] Pitēnikas, probably at Paithan on Upper Godāvarī; Bhojas, nearer the Narmadā, or perhaps towards the Konkan coast (*Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. i, part ii, p. 277); Pulindas, among the Vindhya hills near the Narmadā (ibid., p. 138).

state comprised the Malabar coast south of the Tuluva country, and probably also the inland districts usually assigned to the Chera kingdom. The name Chera is a variant form of Kerala. The Satiyaputra country may be identified with the small region where the Tulu language is spoken, of which Mangalore is the centre. With all these kingdoms Asoka was on such friendly terms that he was at liberty to send his missionaries to preach to the people, and even to found monasteries in several places. One such institution was established by his younger brother Mahendra in the Tanjore District, where its ruins were still visible nine hundred years later.[1]

Princes as monks.

An ancient Chinese writer assures us that 'according to the laws of India, when a king dies, he is succeeded by his eldest son (*Kumārarāja*); the other sons leave the family and enter a religious life, and they are no longer allowed to reside in their native kingdom.'[2] This compulsory withdrawal from secular affairs did not necessarily imply the disappearance of the younger brother into obscurity. The church in India, especially Buddhist India, as in Roman Catholic Europe, offered a career to younger sons, and the able ecclesiastic sometimes attained higher fame than his royal relative. Mahendra's assumption of the yellow robe, in accordance with the rule above stated, was, in the first instance, probably due to political necessity rather than to free choice; but, whatever motive may have led him to adopt the monastic life, he became a devout and zealous monk and a most successful missionary.

Mahendra in Ceylon.

When Asoka determined to extend his propaganda to Ceylon, he selected as head of the mission his monk brother, who presumably was already settled at his monastery in Southern India, and thence crossed over to Ceylon with his four colleagues. The teaching of the preachers, backed as it was by the influence of a monarch so powerful as Asoka, was speedily accepted by King Tissa of Ceylon and the members of his court, and the new religion soon gained

[1] Beal, *Records*, ii, 231.
[2] Ma-twan-lin, cited in *Ind. Ant.* ix, 22.

a hold on the affections of the people at large. Mahendra spent the rest of his life in Ceylon, and devoted himself to the establishment and organization of the Buddhist church in the island, where he is revered as a saint. His ashes are said to rest under a great cupola or *stūpa*, called Ambustala, at Mihintalē, one of the most remarkable among the many notable Buddhist monuments which are the glory of Ceylon.[1]

Sinhalese legend.

The Mahāvamsa chronicle, dating from the fifth century A.D., which gives a list of Asoka's missionaries and the countries to which they were deputed, makes no mention of the missions to the Tamil kingdoms of Southern India. This reticence may be explained by the fierce hostility between the Sinhalese and the Tamils of the mainland, which lasted for centuries. If I am right in believing that Mahendra migrated from his monastery near Tanjore to the island; this fact would have been most distasteful to the monks of the Great Vihāra, who could not bear to think that they were indebted to a resident among the hated Tamils for instruction in the rudiments of the faith, and much preferred that people should believe their religion to have come direct from the Holy Land of Buddhism. Some motive of this kind seems to have originated the Sinhalese legend of Mahendra, who is represented as an illegitimate son of Asoka, and is said to have been followed by a sister named Sanghamitrā ('Friend of the Order'), who did for the nuns of Ceylon all that her brother did for the monks. This legend, which is overlaid by many marvellous inventions, is fiction, in my judgement.[2] The true version, representing Mahendra as the younger brother of Asoka, was well remembered at the imperial capital Pātaliputra, where Fa-hien, at the beginning of the fifth century, was shown the hermitage of Asoka's saintly brother; and it was still the only version known to Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century. Even when the latter pilgrim took down the

[1] But the *Mahāvaṁśa* states that the relics of the saint were enshrined at or near the Thūpārāma at Anurādhapura (Smither, *Architectural Remains, Anurādhapura*, p. 2). Possibly the relics may have been transferred from the Thūpārāma to the Ambustala *stūpa*.

[2] See *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxii (1903), p. 364.

Sinhalese legends from the lips of the island monks whom he met at Kānchī, he applied the stories to the brother, not to the son, of Asoka.[1]

Alleged mission to Pegu.

The Mahāvamsa seems to err also in attributing to Asoka the dispatch of missionaries to Pegu (*Sovanabhūmi*). No such mission is mentioned in the inscriptions, and it is very improbable that Asoka had any dealings with the countries to the east of the Bay of Bengal. His face was turned westwards towards the Hellenistic kingdoms. The Ceylon form of Buddhism appears to have been introduced into Burma and Pegu at a very much later date; and there is reason to believe that the earliest Burmese Buddhism was of the Tantric Mahāyāna type, imported direct from Northern India many centuries after Asoka's time.[2]

Missions to Hellenistic kingdoms.

Unfortunately no definite record has been preserved of the fortunes of the Buddhist missions in the Hellenistic kingdoms of Asia, Africa, and Europe; nor are the names of the missionaries known. The influence of Buddhist doctrine on the heretical Gnostic sects appears to be undoubted; and many writers have suspected that more orthodox forms of Christian teaching owe some debt to the lessons of Gautama; but the subject is too obscure for discussion in these pages.

Buddhism became a world religion.

It is, however, certain that Asoka, by his comprehensive and well-planned measures of evangelization, succeeded in transforming the doctrine of a local Indian sect into one of the great religions of the world. The personal ministry of Gautama Buddha was confined to a comparatively small area, comprising about four degrees of latitude and as many of longitude, between Gayā, Allāhābād, and the Himalaya. Within these limits he was born, lived, and died. When he died, about 487 B.C., Buddhism was merely a sect of Hinduism, unknown beyond very restricted limits, and with no better apparent chance of survival than that enjoyed by many other contemporary sects now long-forgotten.

The effective organization of the monastic system by the

[1] Beal, *Records*, ii, 246; *Watters* ii, 230.

[2] Temple, 'Notes on Antiquities in Rāmaññadesa' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxii (1893), p. 359): and my article (ibid., 1905, p. 180).

Buddhists probably was the means of keeping their system alive and in possession of considerable influence in the Gangetic valley for the two centuries and a quarter which elapsed between the death of Gautama and the conversion of Asoka. His imperial patronage, gradually increasing as his faith grew in intensity, made the fortune of Buddhism, and raised it to the position which enables it still to dispute with Christianity the first place among the religions of the world, so far as the number of believers is concerned.

The work of Asoka.

Asoka did not attempt to destroy either Brahmanical Hinduism or Jainism; but his prohibition of bloody sacrifices, the preference which he openly avowed for Buddhism, and his active propaganda, undoubtedly brought his favourite doctrine to the front, and established it as the dominant religion both in India and Ceylon. It still retains that position in the southern island, but has vanished from the land of its birth, and has failed to retain its grasp upon many of its distant conquests.

Still, notwithstanding many failures, fluctuations, developments, and corruptions, Buddhism now commands, and will command for countless centuries to come, the devotion of hundreds of millions of men. This great result is the work of Asoka alone, and entitles him to rank for all time with that small body of men who may be said to have changed the faith of the world.

Comparison with Constantine.

The obvious comparison of Asoka with Constantine has become a commonplace, but, like most historical parallels, is far from exact. Christianity, when the emperor adopted it as the state creed, was already a power throughout the Roman Empire, and Constantine's adherence was rather an act of submission to an irresistible force than one of patronage to an obscure sect. Buddhism, on the contrary, when Asoka accorded to it his invaluable support, was but one of many sects struggling for existence and survival, and without any pretension to dictate imperial policy. His personal action, seemingly prompted and directed by his teacher Upagupta, was the direct cause of the spread of the doctrine beyond the limits of India; and, if a Christian

parallel must be sought, his work is comparable with that of Saint Paul, rather than with that of Constantine.

Upagupta. Upagupta, to whom the conversion of Asoka is ascribed, is said to have been the son of Gupta, a perfumer, and to have been born at either Benares or Mathurā. Probably he was a native of the latter city, where the monastery built by him still existed in the seventh century. Tradition also associated his name with Sind, in which country he is said to have made frequent missionary journeys.[1]

Asoka's energy, The vigorous and effective action taken by Asoka to propagate his creed and system of morals is conclusive proof of his absolute honesty of purpose, and justifies the modern reader in giving full credence to the devout professions made by him in the edicts. 'Work I must,' he observed, 'for the public benefit'; and work he did. The world still enjoys the fruit of his labours; and his words, long lost, but now restored to utterance, ring with the sound of sincerity and truth.

and industry. Asoka was a hard-working king, as unwearied in business as Philip II of Spain, ready to receive reports 'at any hour and any place', and yet dissatisfied with the outcome of his industry. 'I am never,' he laments, 'fully satisfied with my exertions and dispatch of business.' Probably he worked too hard, and would have effected still more if he had done less. But his ideal of duty was high, and, like the Stoic philosopher, he was bound to obey the law of his nature, and to toil on, be the result success or failure.

Character of Asoka. The character of Asoka must be deduced from his words. The style is of the man, and I firmly believe that the edicts express his thoughts in his own words. They are written in a style far too peculiar and distinctive to be the work of a Secretary of State, and are alive with personal feeling. No secretary would have dared to put in his master's mouth

[1] Beal, *Records*, i, 182; ii, 88, 273; Growse, *Mathurā*, 3rd ed., p. 142; Cunningham, *Reports*, xx, 32. The identity of Tissa, son of Moggali, the hero of the Ceylon tales, with the real personage Upagupta has been demonstrated by Lt.-Col. Waddell (*J. A. S. B.*, 1897, part i, p. 76; *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1899, p. 70). There is no reason to identify Tissa with the Mogaliputa of the Sāñchi relic caskets (*Bhilsa Topes*, pp. 115, 120).

the passionate expressions of remorse for the misery caused by the Kalinga war, leading up to the resolve to eschew aggressive warfare for the rest of his life, and the declaration that 'although a man do him an injury, His Majesty holds that it must be patiently borne, as far as it possibly can be borne'.[1]

The edicts reveal Asoka as a man who sought to combine the piety of the monk with the wisdom of the king, and to make India the kingdom of righteousness as he conceived it, a theocracy without a God; in which the government should act the part of Providence, and guide the people in the right way. Every man, he maintained, must work out his own salvation, and eat the fruit of his deeds. 'The fruit of exertion is not to be obtained by the great man only; because even the small man by exertion can win for himself much heavenly bliss; and for this purpose was given the precept—"Let small and great exert themselves".'[2] The government could point out the road, but each man must travel it for himself.

Reverence, compassion, truthfulness, and sympathy were the virtues which he inculcated; irreverence, cruelty, falsehood, and intolerance were the vices which he condemned. The preacher was no mere sermon-writer. He was a man of affairs, versed in the arts of peace and war, the capable ruler of an immense empire, a great man, and a great king.

Asoka's queens.

Asoka, like all Oriental monarchs, was a polygamist, and had at least two consorts, who ranked as queens. The name of the second of these ladies, Kārūvakī, is preserved in a brief edict signifying the royal pleasure that her charitable donations should be regarded by all officials concerned as her act and deed, redounding to her accumulation of merit. She is described as the mother of Tīvara, who may be considered as a favourite child of the aged emperor at the time the edict was issued, late in his reign.

Legend of Kunāla.

Tradition avers that his faithful chief queen for many years was named Asandhimitrā, and that when she died, and Asoka was old, he married a dissolute young woman named

[1] Rock Edict XIII.

[2] Minor Rock Edict I (Rūpnāth).

Tishyarakshitā; concerning whom and her step-son Kunāla, the old folk-lore tale, known to the Greeks as that of Phaedra and Hippolytus, is related with much imaginative embellishment. But folk-lore is not history, and the pathetic story of the blinded Kunāla must not be read or criticized as matter-of-fact narrative. The legend appears in diverse forms with various names.

Legend of Jalauka.

Another son of Asoka, named Jalauka, who plays a large part in Kashmīr tradition, although rather a shadowy personage, has more appearance of reality than Kunāla. He was reputed to have been an active and vigorous king of Kashmīr, who expelled certain intrusive foreigners, and conquered the plains as far as Kanauj. He was hostile to Buddhism and devoted to the worship of Siva and the Divine Mothers, in whose honour he and his queen, Isānadēvī, erected many temples at places which can be identified. But the story of Jalauka, notwithstanding the topographical details, is essentially legendary, and no independent corroboration of the Kashmīr tradition has been discovered.[1]

Daśaratha.

Tīvara, the son mentioned in the Queen's Edict, is not heard of again, and may have predeceased his father. Dasaratha, the grandson of Asoka, who is described in the *Vishnu Purāna* as the son of Suyasas, or Suparsva, was certainly a reality, being known from brief dedicatory inscriptions on the walls of cave-dwellings at the Nāgārjuni Hills, which he bestowed upon the Ajīvikas, as his grandfather had done in the neighbouring Barābar Hills. The script, language, and style of Dasaratha's records prove that his date was very close to that of Asoka, whom probably he directly succeeded, at least in the eastern provinces. Assuming this to be the fact, the accession of Dasaratha may be dated in 231 B.C. His reign appears to have been short, and is allotted (under other names) eight years in two of the Purānas.

Samprati; Buddhist tradition.

The existence and succession of Samprati, another grandson

[1] Stein, transl. *Rājataranġinī*, bk. i, vv. 108–52. One of the confused Tibetan traditions assigns eleven sons to Asoka (Schiefner, *Tāranāth*, p. 48).

of Asoka, although not verified by epigraphic record, are vouched for by a considerable body of tradition. The Buddhist prose romance, named *Asokāvadāna* (being part of the *Divyāvadāna*), tells a long story of Asoka's senile devotion to the church and consequent waste of the resources of the empire, which went so far that the ministers were compelled to remove him from power, and place Samprati, son of the blinded Kunāla, on the throne. We are not told what became of Asoka. According to this tale, the successors of Samprati were Vrihaspati, Vrishasena, Pushyadharman, and Pushyamitra, the last being described as of Maurya descent.[1]

Jain traditions.

The Jain literary tradition of Western India, which also recognizes Samprati as the immediate successor of Asoka, eulogizes him as an eminent patron of Jainism, who founded Jain monasteries even in non-Aryan countries. Almost all ancient Jain temples or monuments of unknown origin are ascribed by the popular voice to Samprati, who is, in fact, regarded as a Jain Asoka. One author describes him as being the sovereign of all India ('lord of Bharata with its three continents'), holding court at Pātaliputra; but other traditions place the seat of his government at Ujjain. It is obviously impossible to reconcile all these discrepant traditions, or to feel assured that a kernel of fact can be extracted from the husk of legend. The concurrence of Buddhist with Jain tradition may be accepted as good, if not conclusive, evidence that Samprati had a real existence in the flesh, although nothing certain is known about him. Perhaps the empire was divided immediately after Asoka's death, between his grandsons, Dasaratha taking the eastern, and Samprati the western provinces, but there is no clear evidence to support this hypothesis.[2]

Khotan legends.

The legends of Khotan assert a connexion between that kingdom and Asoka in more ways than one. According to one version of the story he banished certain nobles of Taxila

[1] Burnouf, *Introd.*, 2nd ed., p. 384; Schiefner, *Tāranāth*, p. 287.

[2] The Jain traditions (*Parisishtaparvan*, ed. Jacobi; &c.) are summarized conveniently by Bhagwān Lāl Indraji and Mr. Jackson in *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. i, part i (1896), p. 15.

to the north of the Himalaya as a punishment for their complicity in the wrongful blinding of his son Kunāla. These exiles elected one of their number to be king, who reigned in Khotan until he was defeated by a rival prince exiled from China. Another version of the tale avers that the earliest ancestor of the royal family of Khotan was the prince Kunāla, the son of Asoka, who was himself exiled from Taxila. These stories seem to be merely mythological explanations of the fact that the ancient civilization of Khotan was derived from both India and China. It is not likely that Asoka's political jurisdiction should have extended into the basin of the Tārīm.[1]

Decline and fall of the Maurya dynasty.

The whole duration of the Maurya dynasty, according to Purānic authority, was 137 years, and if this period be accepted and reckoned from the accession of Chandragupta in 321 B.C., the dynasty must have come to an end in 184 B.C., which date certainly is approximately correct. Four princes who, according to the Purānic list, succeeded Dasaratha, and each reigned for a few years, are mere names[2]; and, if the real existence of Samprati and his successors be assumed, they are equally shadowy personages. The only certainty is that the great empire founded by Chandragupta, and gloriously maintained by his son and grandson, did not long survive the latter. The descendants of Asoka whose names are recorded in the Purānas probably retained possession of only Magadha and the neighbouring home provinces. The Āndhra protected state between the Krishnā and Godāvarī rivers was among the earliest defections, and rapidly grew into a powerful kingdom, stretching right across India, as will be narrated in the next chapter. The last king of the imperial Maurya line, a weak prince named Brihadratha, was treacherously assassinated by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra.

[1] The stories, which will be found in the *Life* and *Travels* of Hiuen Tsang, in Rockhill's *Life of Buddha* and Sarat Chandra Das' articles on Tibetan history, are summarized and examined by Stein, in *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 156–66.

[2] Sangata, Śāliśūka, Somaśarman, Śatadhanvan. The existence of Śāliśūka is confirmed by the early astronomical work, the *Gārgī Samhitā*, which alludes to him in the well-known historical passage, quoted *post*, p. 205.

But descendants of the great Asoka continued as unrecorded local subordinate Rājas in Magadha for many centuries; the last of them, and the only one whose name has been preserved, being Pūrna-varman, who was nearly contemporary with the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, in the seventh century.[1] Local Maurya Rājas.

Petty Maurya dynasties, apparently connected in some unknown way with the imperial line, which ruled in the Konkan, between the Western Ghāts and the sea, and some other parts of Western India, during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, are frequently mentioned in inscriptions.[2]

[1] Beal, *Records*, ii, 118, 174; Watters, ii, 115.

[2] Fleet, 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,' 2nd ed., in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part ii (1896), pp. 282–4.

THE MAURYA DYNASTY

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Year B.C.	Event.
326 or 325 .	Chandragupta Maurya in his youth met Alexander the Great.
Sept. or Oct., 325	Alexander quitted India.
Feb., 324 . .	Alexander, while in Karmania, received news of the murder of his satrap Philippos, in India; and placed Eudāmos and Āmbhi, king of Taxila, in charge of the Indian provinces.
June, 323	Death of Alexander at Babylon.
Oct. 323–322	Revolt of Panjāb under Chandragupta Maurya.
322 or 321 .	Destruction of Nanda dynasty of Magadha; accession of Chandragupta Maurya as emperor of India.
321 . . .	Second partition of Alexander's empire at Triparadeisos.
315	Seleukos Nikator compelled by Antigonos to retire to Egypt.
312 . . .	Recovery of Babylon by Seleukos.
Oct. 1, 312 .	Establishment of Seleukidan era
306 . . .	Assumption by Seleukos of title of king
305 or 304 .	Invasion of India by Seleukos.
303 . . .	Defeat of Seleukos by Chandragupta; treaty of peace; cession of a large part of Ariāna by Seleukos
303-301 . .	March of Seleukos against Antigonos.
302	Megasthenes ambassador of Seleukos at Pātaliputra.
301	Defeat and death of Antigonos at Ipsos in Phrygia.
298 or 297 .	Accession of Bindusāra Amitraghāta as emperor of India.
circa 296 . .	Deimachos ambassador at Seleukos at Pāṭaliputra.
285	Ptolemy Philadelphos, king of Egypt, acc.
280	Seleukos Nikator, king of Syria, d.; Antiochos Soter, his son, acc.
278 or 277 .	Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia, grandson of Antiochos I, acc.
272	Alexander, king of Epirus, son of Pyrrhus, and opponent of Antigonos Gonatas, acc.
273 or 272 .	Accession of Asoka-vardhana as emperor of India.
269	Coronation (*abhisheka*) of Asoka.
264	Outbreak of First Punic War.
261 . .	Conquest of Kalinga by Asoka; Antiochos Theos, king of Syria, son of Antiochos Soter, acc.
259	Asoka abolished hunting, instituted tours devoted to works of piety, and dispatched missionaries.
258 . . .	Magas, king of Cyrēnē, half-brother of Ptolemy Philadelphos, died; (?) Alexander, king of Epirus, died.
257	Rock Edicts III and IV of Asoka, who instituted quinquennial official progresses for propagation of Law of Piety (*dharma*), and dedicated cave-dwellings at Barābar for the use of the Ajīvikas.

Year B. C.	Event.
256	Publication of complete series of Fourteen Rock Edicts, and of the Kalinga Borderers' Edict by Asoka, who appointed Censors of the Law of Piety (*dharmamahāmātrāh*).
255	Asoka enlarged for the second time the *stūpa* of Konākamana Buddha near Kapilavastu.
? 251 . . .	Publication by Asoka of the Kalinga Provincials' Edict.
250	Dedication by Asoka of a third cave-dwelling at Barābar for the use of the Ajīvikas.
249 . .	Pilgrimage of Asoka to Buddhist holy places; erection of pillars at Lumbinī Garden and near a *stūpa* of Konākamana; (?) his visit to Nepāl, and foundation of Lalita Pātan; his daughter Chārumatī becomes a nun.
247	Ptolemy Philadelphos, king of Egypt, died.
247 or 246 .	Antiochos Theos, king of Syria, grandson of Seleukos Nikator, died; revolt about this time of Diodotos (Theodotus) and Arsakes; separation of Bactria and Parthia from the Seleukidan empire.
243	Composition by Asoka of Pillar Edict VI, confirming the Rock Edicts
242	Publication by Asoka of complete series of Seven Pillar Edicts.
242 or 239 .	Antigonos Gonatas, king of Macedonia, died.
241	Close of First Punic War; rise of the kingdom of Pergamum.
? 240 . . .	Supplementary Pillar Edicts of Asoka.
? 232–231 .	Publication of Minor Rock Edicts and Bhābrā Edict; Asoka died; Daśaratha (Kuśāla, *Vāyu P.*) acc., and dedicated Nāgārjuni caves to the Ajīvikas; break-up of Maurya empire began.
? 224 . . .	Sangata Maurya, king (Bandhupālita, *Vāyu P.*).
? 216 . . .	Śālīśūka Maurya, king (Indrapālita. *Vāyu P.*).
? 206 . . .	Somaśarman Maurya, king (Daśavarman, or Devavarman (*Vāyu P.*).
? 199 . . .	Śatadhanwan Maurya, king (Śatadhara, *Vāyu P.*).
? 191 . . .	Brihadratha Maurya, king (Brihadaśva, *Vāyu P.*).
184	Pushyamitra Śunga, acc., having slain Brihadratha; final destruction of Maurya Empire.[1]

[1] The names of the successors of Asoka are taken from the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, omitting Suyaśas, for the reasons given in the text. Other names are given in Jain books and the Buddhist *Asokāvadāna*. The *Vāyu*, which is probably the oldest of the Purānas (*Early Hist. of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., p. 162), gives only nine names for the dynasty, as in brackets, and also states the duration of each reign. The dates given are assigned accordingly, on the assumption that the reign of Asoka lasted for about forty or forty-one years. Its duration, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, was thirty-six, and, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa*, thirty-seven years, both of which periods probably should be reckoned from the coronation. The Purānas agree in assigning 137 years to the Maurya dynasty, but the total of the lengths of reigns, according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, is only 133. The difference of four years may be accounted for by the interval between the accession and the coronation of Asoka.

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUNGA, KANVA, AND ANDHRA DYNASTIES, 184 B.C. TO 236 A.D.

THE SUNGA DYNASTY.

184 B.C. Usurpation of Pushyamitra Śunga.

PUSHYAMITRA, the commander-in-chief, having slain his master Brihadratha Maurya, and imprisoned the minister, usurped the vacant throne, and established himself as sovereign of the now contracted Maurya dominions;[1] thus founding a dynasty known to history as that of the Sungas.[2]

Extent of Śunga dominions.

The capital continued to be, as of old, Pātaliputra, and probably all the central or home provinces of the empire recognized the usurper's authority, which extended to the south as far as the Narmadā river,[3] and presumably embraced the territories in the Gangetic basin, corresponding with the modern Bihār, Tirhūt, and the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. It is unlikely that either the later Mauryas or the Sungas exercised any jurisdiction in the Panjāb. Wilson's

[1] The Purānic account of Pushyamitra's usurpation is confirmed by Bāṇa (seventh century), who evidently had access to documents now lost. His text is: *Pratijñā durbalaṁ cha baladarśanavyapadeśa-darśitāśesha-sainyaḥ senānīr anāryo Mauryaṁ Bṛihadrathaṁ pipesha Pushpamitraḥ svāminaṁ||* Buhler (*Ind. Ant.* ii, 363) translates: 'And reviewing the whole army, under the pretext of showing him his forces, the mean general Pushpamitra crushed his master, Bṛihadratha the Maurya, who was weak of purpose.' The rendering by Cowell and Thomas (*Harṣa-carita*, transl. p. 193) differs but slightly. They translate the first clause: 'having displayed his whole army on the pretext of manifesting his power.' Buhler's version is to be preferred. For the spelling of the name see next note.

[2] Manuscripts usually read Pushpamitra, but Pushyamitra is the correct form (Bühler, *Ind. Ant.* ii, 362). The dynastic name Sunga is attested by the Purāṇas, Bāṇa (p. 193), and the Barhut (Bharhut) inscription beginning with *Suganaṁ raje*, 'during the reign of the Sungas' (*Arch. S. W. I.* v, 73; *Ind. Ant.* xiv, 138, with facsimile).

[3] 'The Queen [of Agnimitra, son of Pushyamitra] has a brother of inferior caste, Vīrasena by name; he has been placed by the king in command of a frontier fortress on the banks of the Mandākinī' (Introd. to *Mālavikāgnimitra*). Mr. Tawney (transl., p. 6) notes that 'the Mandākinī here probably means the Narmadā (Nerbudda). One of the Bombay manuscripts reads the Prākrit equivalent of Narmadā'.

belief that the arms of Pushyamitra reached the Indus was due to a misunderstanding.[1]

155-3 B.C. Invasion of Menander.

During the latter years of his reign, the usurper was threatened by serious dangers menacing from both east and west. Menander, a relative of the Bactrian monarch Eukratides, and king of Kābul and the Panjāb, formed the design of emulating the exploits of Alexander, and advanced with a formidable force into the interior of India. He annexed the Indus delta, the peninsula of Surāshtra (Kāthiāwār), and some other territories on the western coast; occupied Mathurā on the Jumna; besieged Madhyamikā (now Nāgarī near Chitōr) in Rājputāna; invested Sākētam in southern Oudh; and threatened Pātaliputra, the capital.

Invasion of Khāravēla.

About the same time, or a little earlier, Khāravēla, king of Kalinga, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, invaded Magadha. He claims to have won some successes, and to have humbled his adversary, but whatever advantage he gained would seem to have been temporary, or to have affected only the eastern frontier of the Magadhan kingdom.[2]

Repulse of Menander.

The more formidable invasion of Menander certainly was repelled after a severe struggle, and the Greek king was obliged to retire to his own country, but he may have retained his conquests in Western India for a few years longer.[3]

[1] Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, ii, 353; Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1870, p. 227.

[2] The inscription of Khāravēla, king of Kalinga (Orissa), incised on the rock of the Hāthīgumphā cave in the Udayagiri hill, nineteen miles south of Katak (Cuttack), although sadly mutilated, is one of the most interesting epigraphic monuments of India. It recounts the history of the reign up to the thirteenth year, and is dated in the year 164 expired, and 165 current, of the Maurya era. No other reference to that era is known. Assuming that the Maurya era was reckoned from the coronation of Chandragupta Maurya, and that that event occurred in 321 B.C., the date is equivalent to (321-164) 157 B.C. If the Maurya era was identical with the Seleukidan, the date of the inscription will be nine years later. Khāravēla in his fifth year repaired a work constructed by Nanda Rāja. In his twelfth year he advanced to the Ganges (158 B.C.), and claims to have humbled the king of Magadha, *scil.* Pushyamitra. Nanda Rāja is then again mentioned. Khāravēla was himself a Jain, but, like Asoka, honoured all sects (*savapāsanda-pūjako*). The translation in Cunningham's *Corpus, Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. 132, is not to be depended on. The only authentic version is that by Bhagwān Lāl Indrajī (*Actes du Sixième Congrès Or.*, tome iii, pp. 174-7, Leide, 1885).

[3] See Appendix I at end of this chapter, 'The Invasion of Menander, and the Date of Patañjali.'

India and Europe. Thus ended the second and last attempt by a European general to conquer India by land. All subsequent invaders from the western continent have come in ships, trusting to their command of the sea, and using it as their base. From the repulse of Menander in 153 B.C. until the bombardment of Calicut by Vasco da Gama in 1502 A.D. India enjoyed immunity from attack under European leadership; and so long as the power in occupation of the country retains command of the sea, no attack made from the land side in the footsteps of the ancient invaders can have any prospect of permanent success.

Agnimitra's war with Vidarbha. During the progress of the wars with Menander and Khāravēla, the outlying southern provinces extending to the Narmadā river were administered by the Crown Prince, Agnimitra, as viceroy, who had his capital at Vidisā, the modern Bhīlsā on the Betwā in Sindhia's territory. Agnimitra's youthful son, Vasumitra, was employed on active service under the orders of the king, his grandfather. Pushyamitra, who at this time must have been advanced in years, resolved to crown his military successes by substantiating and proclaiming a formal claim to the rank of Lord Paramount of Northern India. His pretensions received confirmation by the success of Agnimitra in a local war with his southern neighbour, the Rāja of Vidarbha (Bērār), which resulted in the complete defeat of the Rāja, who was obliged to cede half of his dominions to a rival cousin; the river Varadā (Warda) being constituted the boundary between the two principalities.

Pushyamitra determined to revive and celebrate with appropriate magnificence the antique rite of the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*), which, according to immemoral tradition, could only be performed by a paramount sovereign, and involved as a preliminary a formal and successful challenge to all rival claimants to supreme power, delivered after this fashion :—

***Aśvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice.** 'A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies, and was then turned loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative,

followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country, the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanquished Rājas in his train; but, if he failed, he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After his successful return, a great festival was held, at which the horse was sacrificed.'[1]

Yavanas.

The command, at least nominally, of the guard attendant on the consecrated steed liberated by Pushyamitra was entrusted to his young grandson, Vasumitra, who is said to have encountered and routed a band of certain Yavanas, or western foreigners, who took up the challenge on the banks of the river Sindhu, which now forms the boundary between Bundēlkhand and the Rājputāna states.[2] These disputants may have been part of the division of Menander's army which had undertaken the siege of Madhyamikā in Rājputāna.

Celebration of the sacrifice.

The Yavanas and all other rivals having been disposed of in due course, Pushyamitra was justified in his claim to rank as the paramount power of Northern India, and straightway proceeded to announce his success by a magnificent celebration of the sacrifice at his capital. The dramatist, who has so well preserved the traditions of the time, professes to record the very words of the invitation addressed by the victorious king to his son the Crown Prince, as follows:—

'May it be well with thee! From the sacrificial enclosure the commander-in-chief Pushpamitra sends this message to his son Agnimitra, who is in the territory of Vidisā, affectionately embracing him. Be it known unto thee that I, having been consecrated for the *Rājasūya*[3] sacrifice, let loose free from all check or curb a horse which was to be brought back after a year, appointing Vasumitra as its defender, girt with a guard of a hundred Rājpūts. This very horse wandering on the right [or "south"] bank of the Sindhu was claimed by a cavalry squadron of the Yavanas. Then

[1] Dowson, *Classical Dict.*, s. v. Aśvamedha.

[2] Not the Indus.

[3] The *rājasūya* was a ceremony of consecration of a king. Weber published a dissertation on the subject.

there was a fierce struggle between the two forces. Then Vasumitra, the mighty bowman, having overcome his foes, rescued by force my excellent horse, which they were endeavouring to carry off. Accordingly, I will now sacrifice, having had my horse brought back to me by my grandson, even as Ansumat brought back the horse to Sagara. Therefore, you must dismiss anger from your mind, and without delay come with my daughters-in-law to behold the sacrifice.'[1]

Patañjali. The performance of the solemn rite probably was witnessed by the celebrated grammarian Patanjali, who alludes to the event in terms which imply that it occurred in his time.

Beginning of Brahmanical reaction. The exaggerated regard for the sanctity of animal life, which was one of the most cherished features of Buddhism, and the motive of Asoka's most characteristic legislation, had necessarily involved the prohibition of bloody sacrifices, which are essential to certain forms of Brahmanical worship, and were believed by the orthodox to possess the highest saving efficacy. The memorable horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra marked the beginning of the Brahmanical reaction, which was fully developed five centuries later in the time of Samudragupta and his successors.

Pushyamitra alleged to be a persecutor. If credit may be given to the semi-mythological stories of Buddhist writers, Pushyamitra was not content with the peaceful revival of Hindu rites, but indulged in a savage persecution of Buddhism, burning monasteries and slaying monks from Magadha to Jālandhar, in the Panjāb. Many monks who escaped his sword are said to have fled into the territories of other rulers. It would be rash to reject this tale as wholely baseless, although it may be exaggerated.[2]

[1] *Mālavikāgnimitra*, 'The Story of Mālavikā and Agnimitra,' Act v, transl. Tawney, p. 78, with the substitution of the word 'forces' for 'hosts', which is not suitable. Abstracts of the plot are given by Wilson (*Theatre of the Hindus*, vol. ii, pp. 345-53, and Sylvain Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*, pp. 165-70). It has been edited by Tullberg (Bonn, 1840), and translated into English by Tawney (Calcutta, 1875), into German by Weber (Berlin, 1856), and twice into French, first by Foucaux, and later by Victor Henry (Paris, 1877, 1889). The historical tradition seems to be authentic. Kālidāsa, the author, probably lived during the Gupta period in the fifth century. For the Sagara legend see Dowson, *Classical Dictionary*, s. v.

[2] Tāranāth, Schiefner's transl., p. 81; *Divyāvadāna* in Burnouf, *Introduction*, 2nd ed., p. 384. The latter romance is responsible for the

But, although the alleged proscription of Buddhism by Pushyamitra is supported by some evidence, it is true that the gradual extinction of that religion in India was due in the main to causes other than persecution; while it is also true that from time to time fanatic kings indulged in savage outbursts of cruelty, and committed genuine acts of persecution directed against Jains or Buddhists as such. Well-established instances of such proceedings will be met with in the course of this history, and others, which do not come within its limits, are on record. That such outbreaks of wrath should have occurred is not wonderful, if we consider the extreme oppressiveness of the Jain and Buddhist prohibitions when ruthlessly enforced, as they certainly were by some Rājas, and probably by Asoka. The wonder rather is that persecutions were so rare, and that as a rule the various sects managed to live together in harmony, and in the enjoyment of fairly impartial official favour.[1] Persecutions in India.

When Pushyamitra, some five years subsequent to the retreat of Menander, died, after a long and eventful reign, he was succeeded by his son the Crown Prince, Agnimitra, who had governed the southern provinces during his father's lifetime. He reigned but a few years, and was succeeded by Sujyeshtha, probably a brother, who was followed seven years later by Vasumitra, a son of Agnimitra, who as a youth had guarded the sacrificial horse on behalf of his aged grandfather. The next four reigns are said to have been 148 B.C. The later Śungas.

fiction that Asoka offered a reward for the head of every Brahman ascetic.

[1] The reality of religious persecution of Buddhism in India, denied by Rhys Davids (*J. Pāli Text Soc.*, 1896, pp. 87–92), is affirmed by Hodgson, Sewell, and Watters (ibid., pp. 107–10). The instance of Śaśānka, described by the nearly contemporary Hiuen Tsang (Beal, *Records*, i, 212; ii, 42, 91, 118, 121), is fully proved. The case against Mihirakula is almost as strong. In ancient times Tibet and Khotan were closely connected with India. Tibetan history records a persecution of Buddhism by king Glang Darma (Langdarma), about 840 A.D. (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 226, 243), and a similar event is recorded in Khotan annals, shortly before 741 A.D. (ibid., pp. 243–5; Sarat Chandra Dās, *J. A. S. B.*, Part I, 1886, p. 200). A terrible persecution of the cognate religion Jainism occurred in Southern India (Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 126). Ajayadeva, a 'Śaiva king of Gujarāt (1174–6 A.D.) began his reign by a merciless persecution of the Jains, torturing their leader to death' (*Archaeol. S. W. I.*, vol. IX, p. 16).

abnormally short, amounting together to only seventeen years. The inference that the extreme brevity of these reigns indicates a period of confusion during which palace revolutions were frequent is strongly confirmed by the one incident of the time which has survived in tradition. Sumitra, another son of Agnimitra, who was, we are told, inordinately devoted to the stage, was surprised when in the midst of his favourite actors by one Mitradeva, who 'severed his head with a scimitar, as a lotus is shorn from its stalk'.[1] The ninth king, Bhāgavata, is credited with a long reign of twenty-six years, but we know nothing about him. The tenth king, Devabhūti or Devabhūmi, was, we are assured, a man of licentious hahits, and lost his life while engaged in a discreditable intrigue. The dynasty thus came to an unhonoured end after having occupied the throne for a hundred and twelve years.[2]

The Kānva or Kānvāyana Dynasty.

72 B.C. Vasudeva Kāṅva. The plot which cost the royal debauchee, Devabhūti, his throne and life was contrived by his Brahman minister Vasudeva, who seems to have controlled the state even during the lifetime of his nominal master.[3] Mitradeva, the slayer of Prince Sumitra, probably belonged to the same powerful family, which is known to history as that of the Kānvas, or Kānvāyanas. There is reason to believe that the later Sunga kings enjoyed little real power, and were

[1] Bāṇa, *Harṣa-carita*, ch. vi; Cowell and Thomas, transl., p. 193.

[2] The 'Mitra' coins, of several kinds, found in Oudh, Rohilkhand, Gōrakhpur, &c., sometimes assumed to belong to the Śungas, cannot be utilized safely as documents for that dynasty. Only one name on the coins, that of Agnimitra, agrees with the Purānic lists. For detailed descriptions see Carlleyle and Rivett-Carnac, *J. A. S. B.*, 1880, part i, pp. 21–8, 87–90, with plates; Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 69, 74, 79, 93; *Catal. of Coins in I.M.*, vol. i, p. 184.

[3] 'These are the ten Śungas, who will govern the kingdom for a hundred and twelve years. Devabhūti, the last Śunga, being addicted to immoral indulgences, his minister, the Kānwa, named Vasudeva, will murder him, and usurp the kingdom' (*Vishnu Purāna*, ed. Wilson and Hall, vol. iv, p. 192).

'In a frenzy of passion the overlibidinous Çunga was at the instance of his minister Vasudeva reft of his life by a daughter of Devabhūti's slave-woman disguised as his queen' (Bāṇa, *Harṣa-carita*, ch. vi, transl. Cowell and Thomas, p. 193).

puppets in the hands of their Brahman ministers, like the Marāthā Rājas in the hands of the Peshwas. But the distinct testimony of both the Purānas and Bāna that Devabhūti, the tenth and last Sunga, was the person slain by Vasudeva, the first Kānva, forbids the acceptance of Professor Bhandarkar's theory that the Kānva dynasty should be regarded as contemporary with the Sunga.[1]

63-27 B.C. The later Kānvas.

Vasudeva seized the throne rendered vacant by his crime, and was succeeded by three of his descendants. The whole dynasty, comprising four reigns, covers a period of only forty-five years. The figures indicate, as in the case of the Sungas, that the times were disturbed, and that succession to the throne was often effected by violent means. Nothing whatever is known about the reigns of any of the Kānva kings. The last of them was slain in 27 B.C. by a king of the Āndhra or Sātavāhana dynasty, which at that time possessed wide dominions stretching across the tableland of the Deccan from sea to sea. Although no coins or monuments connecting the Āndhra kings with Pātaliputra, the ancient imperial capital, have yet been discovered, it is possible that they may have controlled the kingdom of Magadha for a time. The most ancient coins of the dynasty at present known are of northern type, and bear the name of Sāta, who may have been the slayer of Susarman, the last Kānva. The Āndhra coinage from first to last has many obvious affinities with the mintages of the north, which may be explained by the hypothesis that the dynasty really held Magadha as a dependency for a considerable period. But there is little evidence to support such a conjecture.[2]

Identity of the Āndhra king.

The Purānas treat the whole Āndhra dynasty as following the Kānva, and consequently identify the slayer of the last Kānva prince with Simuka or Sipraka, the first of the

[1] *E. Hist. of Dekkan*, 2nd ed. in *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. i, part ii, p. 163. I adopted this theory in my 'Āndhra Dynasty' (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1902, p. 658)—but now reject it.

[2] See the author's paper on the 'Āndhra Coinage' in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1903, pp. 605-27. An ancient Tamil poem, the *Chilappathikāram*, mentions the visit of a Chera prince to a Śatakarna king of Magadha (V. K. Pillai, *The Tamils Eighteen-hundred Years Ago*, p. 6).

Āndhra line. But, as a matter of fact, the independent Āndhra dynasty must have begun about 220 B.C., long before the suppression of the Kānvas in 27 B.C., and the Āndhra king who slew Susarman cannot possibly have been Simuka. It is impossible to affirm with certainty who he was, because the dates of accession of the various Āndhra princes are not known with accuracy. The intermediate dates inserted in the chronological table at the end of this chapter are merely rough approximations to the truth, being based upon the lengths of reigns as stated in the Purānas, which are known to be untrustworthy. In three cases (kings Nos. 23, 24, 27) where the Purānic lengths of the reigns can be checked by inscriptions, the Purānas are proved to be in error. All that can be affirmed at present is that the slayer of Susarman, the last Kānva, must have been one of three Āndhra kings, namely No. 12, Kuntala Sātakarni, No. 13, Sāta Sātakarni, or No. 14, Pulumāyi I, whose reigns collectively are assigned a period of forty years. The year 27 B.C. may be accepted as the approximately true date of the extinction of the Kānva dynasty, because it depends, not on the duration assigned to each several reign, but on the periods of 112 and 45 years respectively allotted to the Sunga and Kānva dynasties, which seem worthy of credence; and this date, 27 B.C., apparently must fall within the limits of one or other of the three Āndhra reigns named above.

Āndhra Dynasty.

Earliest mention of the Āndhras.

Before proceeding to narrate the history of the Āndhra kings after the extinction of the Kānva dynasty we must cast back a glance to the more distant past, and trace the steps by which the Āndhra kingdom became one of the greatest powers in India.

300 B.C.

In the days of Chandragupta Maurya and Megasthenes, the Āndhra nation, probably a Dravidian people, now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, occupied the deltas of the Godāvarī and Krishnā (Kistna) rivers on the eastern side of India, and was reputed to possess a military force second only to that at the command of the

king of the Prasii, Chandragupta Maurya. The Āndhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants.[1] The capital of the state was then Srī Kākulam, on the lower course of the Krishnā.[2]

The nation thus described evidently was independent, and it is not known at what time, in the reign of either Chandragupta or Bindusāra, the Āndhras were compelled to submit to the irresistible forces at the command of the Maurya kings and recognize the suzerainty of Magadha.

256 B.C. Āndhras tributary to Asoka.

When next mentioned in Asoka's edicts (256 B.C.) they were enrolled among the tribes resident in the outer circle of the empire, subject to the imperial commands, but doubtless enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy under their own Rāja.[3] The withdrawal of the strong arm of Asoka was the signal for the disruption of his vast empire. While the home provinces continued to obey his feeble successors upon the throne of Pātaliputra, the distant governments shook off the imperial yoke and reasserted their independence.

220 B.C. Kings Simuka and Krishna.

The Andhras were not slow to take advantage of the opportunity given by the death of the great emperor, and very soon after the close of his reign, set up as an independent power under the government of a king named Simuka. The new dynasty extended its sway with such extraordinary rapidity that, in the reign of the second king, Krishna (Kanha), the town of Nāsik, near the source of the Godāvarī in the Western Ghāts, was included in the Āndhra dominions, which thus stretched across India.

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, book vi, 21, 22, 23, from information probably supplied by Megasthenes. The passage is fully discussed in the author's monograph, 'Āndhra History and Coinage' (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1902, 1903), to which reference may be made by readers desirous of examining in detail the sources of Āndhra history.

[2] Burgess, 'The Stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayapeta,' *A. S. S. I.*, p. 3 (referring to Wilson, *Mackenzie MSS.*, vol. i, introd. p. cxvii, and Campbell, *Telugu Grammar*, introd. p. ii). The site of the ancient town (N. lat. 20° 28′, E. long. 85° 55′) has been cut away by the river (Rea, *Proc. Govt. Madras, Public*, No. 423, dated June 18, 1892).

[3] 'And likewise here, in the king's dominions, among the Yonas and Kambojas, in (?) Nābhaka of the Nābhitis, among the Bhojas and Pitinikas, among the Āndhras and Pulindas, everywhere men follow the Law of Piety as proclaimed by His Majesty' (Rock Edict XIII).

168 B.C. The ally of Khāravēla.

A little later, either the third or fourth king, who is described as Lord of the West, was able to send a force of all arms to the aid of his ally, Khāravēla, king of Kalinga in the east, which kingdom also had recovered its independence after the death of Asoka.[1]

27 B.C. Extinction of Kāṅva dynasty.

Nothing more is heard of the Āndhra kings until one of them, as above related, in 27 B.C., slew the last of the Kānvas, and no doubt annexed the territory, whatever it was, which still recognized the authority of that dynasty. The Andhra kings all claimed to belong to the Sātavāhana family, and most of them assumed the title of Sātakarni. They are consequently often referred to by one or other of these designations, without mention of the personal name of the monarch, and it is thus sometimes impossible to ascertain which king is alluded to. As already observed, the real name of the slayer of Susarman Kānva is not known.

68 A.D. King Hāla and Prākrit literature.

The name of Hāla, the seventeenth king, by virtue of its association with literary tradition, possesses special interest as marking a stage in the development of Indian literature. In his time, the learned dialect elaborated by scholars, in which the works of Kālidāsa and other famous poets are composed, had not come into general use as the language of polite literature; and even the most courtly authors did not disdain to seek royal patronage for compositions in the vernacular dialects. On such literature the favour of King Hāla was bestowed, and he himself is credited with the composition of the anthology of erotic verses, called the 'Seven Centuries', written in the ancient Mahārāshtrī tongue. A collection of tales, entitled the 'Great Story-book', written in the Paisāchī dialect, and a Sanskrit grammar, arranged with special reference to the needs of students more familiar with the vernacular speech than with the so-called 'classical' language, are attributed to his ministers.[2]

[1] 'In the second year, Śātakarni, protecting the west [*abhitayitā Sātakani pachimadisaṁ*], sent a numerous army of horses, elephants, men, and chariots [*scil.* a force of all arms, apparently as an ally]' (Hāthīgumphā inscr. in *Actes, Sixième Congrès Or.*, tome iii, p. 174, Leide, 1885).

[2] The *Saptaśataka*, *Bṛihat-kathā*, and *Kātantra* grammar, of which notices will be found in the histories

84 A.D. Vilivāyakura I.

The next kings, concerning whom anything is known, are those numbered 21 to 23 in the dynastic list, who form a group distinguished by peculiar personal names and a distinctive coinage, and are commemorated by a considerable number of inscriptions and coins. Vilivāyakura I, the first of the group, whose accession would seem to indicate a break in the continuity of the dynasty, perhaps due to the ambition of a junior branch, obtained power in 84 A.D., and, according to the Purānas, enjoyed it for only half a year. Some rare coins struck in his western dominions are his sole memorial.

85–138 A.D. Sivalakura and Vilivāyakura II.

He was succeeded by Sivalakura, presumably his son, who, after a reign of twenty-eight years, transmitted the sceptre to Vilivāyakura II, who bore his grandfather's name, in accordance with Hindu custom. His reign of about twenty-five years was distinguished by successful warfare against his western neighbours, the Sakas, Pahlavas, and Yavanas of Mālwā, Gujarāt, and Kāthiāwār.[1] The names of these foreign tribes demand some explanation.

The Śakas.

The Sakas, the Se (Sek) of Chinese historians, originally were a horde of pastoral nomads, like the modern Turkomans, occupying territory to the west of the Wu-sun horde, and to the north of the river Naryn, or Upper Jaxartes.[2] Between

of Sanskrit literature. The latest leading authority on the relations between the vernacular language and the 'classical', or 'secondary', Sanskrit is Professor Otto Franke's book, *Pāli und Sanskrit* (Strassburg, 1902). The learned author uses the term Pālī to designate the ancient Aryan speech of Ceylon and the whole of India below the Himalaya. Sanskrit was not thoroughly established in the south and west during the first millennium A.D., although it was in general use in an incorrect form by the end of the fourth century (p. 74).

[1] The personal names are ascertained from coin legends. The inscriptions denote these kings by epithets indicating the family names of their mothers, a practice perhaps determined by a system of matriarchal descent. Vilivāyakura I is described as Vāśishṭīputra, the son of the lady belonging to the *Vāśishta-gotra* or clan-section. Similarly, Sivalakura is called Mādharīputra, and Vilivāyakura II is called Gautamīputra. The later king Yajña Śrī was also a Gautamīputra, and three other kings were Vāśishṭhīputras. Writers on Āndhra history have produced much confusion by using these matronymics instead of the personal names.

[2] The approximate position of the Śakas is fixed by M. Chavannes' determination of 'l'ancien territoire des *Ou-suen* [Wu-sun], c'est-à-dire les vallées des rivières Kongès, Tékès, et Ili' (*Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 263). The Kongès and Tékès are southern tributaries of the Ili and to the north and north-west of

174 and 160 B.C., they were expelled from their pasture grounds by another similar horde, the Yueh-chi, and compelled to migrate southwards. They ultimately reached India, about the middle of the second century B.C., travelling probably through Kāshgar, the Pāmīrs, Yasin, Gilgit, the 'Hanging Pass' west of Skardo, and the Suwāt Valley, until they entered the plains of Peshāwar.

Śakas in N. India.

Foreign princes, generally assumed, although not proved to be of Saka race, established themselves at Taxila in the Panjāb and Mathurā on the Jumna, where they displaced the native Rājas, and ruled principalities for several generations, assuming, in some cases, the ancient Persian title of satrap.[1] Probably they recognized Mithradates I (*cir.* 171–136 B.C.) and his successors, the early kings of the Parthian or Arsakidan dynasty of Persia, as their overlords.

Śakas in W. India.

Another branch of the horde advanced further to the south, perhaps across Sind, which was then a well-watered country, and carved out for themselves a dominion in the peninsula of Surāshtra, or Kāthiāwār, and some of the neighbouring districts on the mainland.[2]

The Pahlavas.

The Pahlavas seem to have been Persians, in the sense of being Parthians of Persia, as distinguished from the Pārsikas, or Persians proper. The name is believed to be a corruption of Pārthiva, 'Parthian,' and is supposed by some authors to be identical with Pallava, the designation of a famous southern dynasty, which is frequently mentioned in inscriptions during the early centuries of the Christian era, and had its capital at Kānchī, or Conjeeveram in the Chingleput district, Madras.[3]

Kāchu (Koutcha). I did not know this when I dealt with the Śaka migration in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903.

[1] The word occurs twice in the great inscription at Behistun (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, ii, 399, note).

[2] The Śaka migration will be treated more fully in the next chapter. The authorities are discussed in detail in my papers, 'The Indo-Parthian Dynasties' (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1906, p. 49), and 'The Śakas in Northern India' (ibid., 1907, p. 403).

[3] Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, 2nd ed., p. 316 (*Bomb. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part ii). The donors commemorated in Kārlī inscription, No. 21, bore pure Persian names, Harapharana or Holofernes, and Setapharana or Sitaphernes (*A. S. W. I.*, iv, 113, note). For further notice of the Pallavas, see chapter xvi, *post*.

The word Yavana is etymologically the same as 'Ionian', and originally meant 'Asiatic Greek', but has been used with varying connotation at different periods. In the third century B.C. Asoka gave the word its original meaning, describing Antiochos Theos and the other contemporary Hellenistic kings as Yavanas. In the second century A.D. the term had a vaguer signification, and was employed as a generic term to denote foreigners coming from the old Indo-Greek kingdoms on the north-western frontier.[1] The Yavanas.

These three foreign tribes, Sakas, Pahlavas, and Yavanas, at that time settled in Western India as the lords of a conquered native population, were the objects of the hostility of Vilivāyakura II. The first foreign chieftain in the west whose name has been preserved is Bhūmaka the Kshaharāta Satrap, who attained power at about the end of the first or the beginning of the second century A.D., and was followed by Nahapāna, who aggrandized his dominions at the expense of his Āndhra neighbours. The Kshaharāta clan seems to have been a branch of the Sakas. In the year 126 A.D. the Āndhra king, Vilivāyakura II, recovered the losses which his kingdom had suffered at the hands of the intruding foreigners, and utterly destroyed the power of Nahapāna. The hostility of the Āndhra monarch was stimulated by the disgust felt by all Hindus, and especially by the followers of the orthodox Brahmanical system, at the outlandish practices of foreign barbarians, who ignored caste rules, and treated with contempt the precepts of the holy *shāstras*. This disgust is vividly expressed in the long inscription recorded in 144 A.D. by the queen-mother Balasrī, of the Gautama family, in which she glorifies herself as the mother of the hero who 'destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas . . . properly expended the taxes which he levied in accordance with the sacred law . . . and prevented the mixing of the four castes.'[2] 100 A.D. Nahapāna the Kshaharāta. 126 A.D.

[1] In one of the early Junnār inscriptions a person bearing the Hindu name Chandra (Chanda) describes himself as a Yavana (*A. S. W. I.*, iv, 95).

[2] Inscr. No. 17 of Kārlī, in great *chaitya* cave; ed. and transl. Buhler (*A. S. W. I.*, iv, 109). The inscriptions of the times of the western satraps and the Āndhra

Chashtana. After the destruction of Nahapāna, the local government of the west was entrusted to one Chashtana, who seems to have been a Saka, and to have acted as viceroy under the Andhra conqueror. Chashtana, whose capital was at Ujjain in Mālwā, is mentioned by his contemporary, Ptolemy the geographer, under the slight disguise of Tiastanes. From him sprang a long line of satraps, who retained the government of Western India with varying fortune, until the last of them was overthrown at the close of the fourth century by Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya.

138 A.D. War with Rudradāman. In the year 138 A.D. Vilivāyakura II was succeeded on the Andhra throne by his son Pulumāyi II, the Siro Polemaios of Ptolemy. Some years earlier, previous to 130 A.D., the satrap, Rudradāman, grandson of Chashtana, had assumed the government of the western provinces.[1] His daughter, Dakshamitrā, was married to Pulumāyi, but this relationship did not deter Rudradāman, who was an ambitious and energetic prince, from levying war upon his son-in-law. The satrap was victorious, and when the conflict was renewed, 145 A.D. success still attended on his arms (145 A.D). Moved by natural affection for his daughter, the victor did not pursue his advantage to the uttermost, and was content with the retrocession of territory, while abstaining from inflicting utter ruin upon his opponent.[2]

Provinces ceded to Rudradāman. The peninsula of Kāthiāwār or Surāshtra, the whole of Mālwā, Kachchh (Cutch), Sind, and the Konkan, or territory between the Western Ghāts and the sea, besides some adjoining districts, thus passed under the sway of the satraps, and were definitely detached from the Andhra dominions.

Pulumāyi II. Although Pulumāyi II was a son of Vilivāyakura II,[3] his

kings are collected in the volume cited, pp. 98 seqq. The discovery of the name of Bhūmaka is due to Prof. Rapson (*J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 373; *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxxiii, part i, Num. Suppl. (1904)).

[1] *Archaeol. S. W. I.*, *Progress Rep.*, for 1905-6, p. 35. Four inscriptions at Bhūj prove that Rudradāman was reigning in the year 52 (Śaka) = 130 A.D.

[2] 'In spite of having twice in fair fight completely defeated Sātakarṇi, the lord of Dakshiṇāpatha, on account of the nearness of their connexion, did not destroy him' (Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, viii, 47).

[3] This fact is proved by Queen Balaśrī's inscription already cited. The *Matsya Purāna* (*E. Hist. Dekkan*, 2nd ed., p. 167) has a statement that seven Āndhra kings

accession seems to mark a dynastic epoch, emphasized by a transfer of the capital, and the abandonment of the peculiar type of coinage, known to numismatists as the 'bow and arrow', favoured by the Vilivāyakura group. The western capital, which in the time of Vilivāyakura II (Baleokouros) had been at a town called Hippokoura by Ptolemy, probably the modern Kolhāpur, was removed by Pulumāyi II to Paithan, or Paithana, on the upper waters of the Godāvarī, two hundred miles further north. Pulumāyi II enjoyed a long reign over the territories diminished by the victories of his father-in-law, and survived until 170 A. D.

170 A. D. Śiva Śrī and Śiva Skanda.

The next two kings, Siva Srī and Siva Skanda, who are said to have reigned each for seven years, seem to have been brothers of Pulumāyi II. Nothing is known about them, except that the former struck some rude leaden coins in his eastern provinces.

184 A. D. Yajña Śrī.

The most important and powerful of the last seven kings of the dynasty evidently was Yajna Srī, who reigned from 184 to 213 A. D. for twenty-nine years. His rare silver coins, imitating the satrap coinage, certainly prove a renewal of relations with the western satraps, and probably point to unrecorded conquests. It would seem that Yajna Srī must have renewed the struggle in which Pulumāyi II had been worsted, and that he recovered some of the provinces lost by that prince. The silver coins would then have been struck for circulation in the conquered districts, just as similar coins were minted by Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya when he finally shattered the power of the Saka satraps. The numerous and varied, although rude, bronze and leaden coins of Yajna Srī, which formed the currency of the eastern provinces, confirm the testimony of inscriptions by which the prolonged duration of his reign is attested.[1] Some pieces bearing the

sprang from the servants of the original dynasty, of which the meaning is obscure. The last seven kings of the line, beginning with Pulumāyi II, do not seem to be the subject of the remark, because Pulumāyi was the son of his immediate predecessor; and it is not easy to apply the observation to any other group of seven kings in the long list.

[1] Prof. Bhandarkar's notion that the Āndhra dynasty comprised two distinct lines of kings, one western

figure of a ship probably should be referred to this reign, and suggest the inference that Yajna Srī's power was not confined to the land.

213-36 A. D. The last three kings.

His successors, Vijaya, Chandra Srī, and Pulumāyi III, with whom the long series of Andhra kings came to an end about 236 A. D., are mere names; but the real existence of Chandra Srī is attested by the discovery of a few leaden coins bearing his name.[1] Research probably will detect coins struck by both his next predecessor and immediate successor.

Duration of the dynasty.

The testimony of the Purānas that the dynasty endured for $456\frac{1}{2}$ years, or, in round numbers, four centuries and a half, appears to be accurate. The number of the kings also appears to be correctly stated as having been either thirty or thirty-one. The following dynastic list has been constructed on the assumption that the *Vishnu Purāna* is right in fixing the number of kings as thirty, and therefore omits the fifth king of the list in the Radcliffe manuscript of the *Matsya Purāna*, who is there called Srīvasvāni, or Skandastambhi, and credited with a reign of eighteen years. The other Purānic authorities agree in omitting this king, and it is suspicious that the Radcliffe manuscript assigns to him a reign of eighteen years, exactly the same as is assigned to his immediate predecessor, Pūrnotsanga.[2] It seems probable that mere titles or epithets of Pūrnotsanga have been accidentally converted into a separate king by the copyists of the Radcliffe manuscript, and that in reality there were only thirty kings in the dynasty, as affirmed by the *Vishnu Purāna*.

The last of the Āndhras.

At present nothing is known concerning the causes which brought about the downfall of this dynasty, which had succeeded in retaining power for a period so unusually prolonged. The fall of the Āndhras happens to coincide very closely with the death of Vāsudeva, the last of the great Kushān kings of Northern India, as well as with the rise of the Sassanian dynasty of Persia (226 A. D.); and it is

and one eastern does not seem to be tenable. The evidence shows that most of the kings held both the western and the eastern provinces

[1] *Catal. Coins I.M.*, vol. i, p. 209.

[2] In the author's paper in the *Z. D. M. G.* the Matsya (Radcliffe MS.) list was followed, and thirty-one kings were enumerated.

APPROXIMATE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SUNGA, KANVA, AND ANDHRA DYNASTIES.

Śunga Dynasty.

No.	King.	Length of Reign. Traditional.	Length of Reign. Assumed.	Accession.
				B. C.
1	Pushyamitra (*v. l.* Pushpamitra)	60 (*Vāyu*); 36 (*Matsya*); 30 (*Jain*)	36	184
2	Agnimitra	8 (*Brahmāṇḍa*, and *Vāyu*, sons of P., unnamed)	8	148
3	Sujyeshṭha . . .	7 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	7	140
4	Vasumitra	8 (*Vāyu*); 10 (*Matsya*)	8	133
5	Andraka (*v. l.* Antaka, &c.)	2 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	2	125
6	Pulindaka (*v. l.* Madhunandana, &c.)	3 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	3	123
7	Ghoshavasu (*v. l.* Magha ?)	3 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	3	120
8	Vajramitra (*v. l.* Vikramitra ?)	14 (*Vāyu*); 9 (*Matsya*)	9	117
9	Bhāgavata . . .	32 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	26	108
10	Devabhūmi (*v. l.* Kshemabhūmi, &c.)	10 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	10	82
			112	
	End of Dynasty .	. . . . . .	. .	72

Kāṇva Dynasty.

No.	King.	Length of Reign. Traditional.	Length of Reign. Assumed.	Accession.
				B. C.
1	Vasudeva .	9 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	9	72
2	Bhūmimitra	14 (ditto) . .	14	63
3	Nārāyaṇa .	12 (ditto) . .	12	49
4	Suśarman .	10 (ditto) . .	10	37
		45	45	
	End of	Dynasty . .	. .	27

Āndhra Dynasty.

No.	King.	Length of Reign. Traditional.	Length of Reign. Assumed.	Accession.
				B. C.
1	Simuka (*v. l.* Sisuka, &c.)	23 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	23	220
2	Kṛishṇa	18 (*Matsya*); ? 10 or 18 (*Vāyu*)	18	197
3	Śrī Malla Śātakarṇi	56 (*Vāyu*); 18 (*Matsya*)	10	179
4	Pūrṇotsanga [omitting Śrīvasvāni or Skandastambhi of Matsya R. only]	18 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	18	169
5	— Śātakarṇi . . .	56 (*Matsya* and ? *Vāyu*)	40 (duration adjusted).	151
6	Lambodara . . .	18 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	18	111
7	Apītaka (*v. l.* Apīlaka, &c.)	12 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	12	93
8	Sangha (*v. l.* Meghasvāti, &c.)	18 (*Matsya*)	18	81
9	— Śātakarṇi (*v. l.* Śātasvāti)	18 (*Matsya*)	18	63
10	Skandasvāti, *i. e.* Skanda Śātakarṇi	7 (*Matsya*)	7	45
11	Mṛigendra Śātakarṇi	3 (*Matsya*)	3	38
12	Kuntala Śātakarṇi .	8 (*Matsya*)	8	35
13	Śāta Śātakarṇi . .	1 (*Matsya*)	1	27
14	Puḷumāyi I (*v. l.* corrupt forms)	36 (*Matsya*): 24 (*Vāyu*)	32 (duration adjusted).	26
				A. D.
15	Megha Śātakarni .	38 (*Matsya*)	38	6
16	Arishṭa Śātakarni (*v. l.* Nemikṛishṇa, &c.)	25 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	25	44
17	Hāla	5 (*Matsya*); 1 (*Vāyu*)	5	69

Āndhra Dynasty (continued).

No.	King.	Length of Reign. Traditional.	Length of Reign. Assumed.	Accession.
				A. D.
18	Maṇḍalaka (*v. l.* Mantalaka, &c.)	5 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	5	74
19	Purīndrasena (*v. l.* Purīshasena, &c.)	5 (*Matsya*); 21 (*Vāyu*)	5	79
20	Sundara Śātakarṇi .	1 (*Matsya*); 3 (*Vāyu*)	1	84
21	Viḷivāyakura I (Vāśishṭhīputra = Chakora or Rājada Śātakarṇi)	½ (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	½	85
22	Sivalakura (Māḍharīputra Śakasena = Śiva Śātakarṇi (-svāti)	28 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	28	85
23	Viḷivāyakura II (Gautamīputra Śrī Śātakarṇi)	21 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	25 [1]	113
24	Puḷumāyi II (Vāśishṭhīputra Śrī P. Śātakarṇi)	28 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	32	138
25	Śiva Śrī (Vāśishṭhīputra)	7 (*Matsya*) .	7	170
26	Śiva Skanda Śātakarṇi	7 (*Matsya*) (*v.l.* 9)	7	177
27	Yajña Śrī (Gautamīputra Svāmī Śrī Y. Śātakarṇi)	20 (*Matsya*) (*v. l.* 9); 19 (*Vāyu*)	29 [2]	184
28	Vijaya (Śrī Śātakarṇi)	6 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	6	213
29	Chaḍa (Chandra) Śrī (Vāśishṭhīputra Śrī V. Śātakarṇi)	10 (*Matsya*); 3 (*Vāyu*)	10	219
30	Puḷumāyi III . . .	7 (*Vāyu* and *Matsya*)	7	229
	End of dynasty . .	. . . . . .	456½ [3]	236

[1] Nos. 21–23 form a distinct group, with peculiar names, and 'bow and arrow' coins.

[2] True length of reign of Nos. 23, 24, 27 determined approximately by inscriptions.

[3] 30 kings, according to Vishnu Purāṇa, reigning for 456½ years.

possible that the coincidence may not be merely fortuitous. But the third century A.D. is one of the dark spaces in the spectrum of Indian history, and almost every event of that time is concealed from view by an impenetrable veil of oblivion. Vague speculation, unchecked by the salutary limitations of verified fact, is, at the best, unprofitable; and so we must be content to let the Andhras pass away in the darkness.

APPENDIX I

The Invasion of Menander, and the Date of Patañjali

Authorities. The authorities for the invasion of Menander are Strabo, who alone gives the Greek king's name (bk. xi, sec. xi, 1; xv, sec. ii, 3); Patañjali, the contemporary Hindu grammarian; the Sanskrit astronomical work, the *Gārgī Saṁhitā*, of early but uncertain date; and Tāranāth, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism.

Strabo. Strabo's informant, Apollodoros of Artemita, testifies that Menander crossed the Hypanis (Hyphasis, Biās) river at which Alexander's advance had been arrested; penetrated to 'Isamus', which has not been identified; and ultimately subjugated Patalēnē, or the Indus delta, the kingdom of Saraostos (Surāshṭra, or Kāṭhiāwāṛ), and a territory on the western coast named Sigerdis. This statement is supported by the observation of the writer of the *Periplus*, who noticed, probably towards the close of the first century A.D., that Greek coins of Apollodotos and Menander were still current at the port of Barygaza (Broach, Bharōch). This curious observation suggests the inference, that although Menander was compelled to retire quickly from the Gangetic valley, his rule must have continued for a considerable number of years in the territories on the western coast.

Madhyamikā. The sieges of Sākētam and Madhyamikā by the Yavana, that is to say Menander, are referred to by the grammarian Patañjali in terms which necessarily imply that those events occurred during the writer's lifetime. The proof that Madhyamikā is the correct reading and to be interpreted as the name of a city is due to Prof. Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* vii, 266). The identity of Madhyamikā with the ancient town of Nāgarī, one of the oldest sites in India, about eleven miles to the north of Chitōr in Rājputāna, is established by the coins found at Nāgarī, and not elsewhere, with the legend *Majhimikāya śibijanapadasa*, '[Coin] of Majhimikā (Madhyamikā) in the Śibi country' (Cunningham, *Reports*, vi, 201; xiv, 146, pl. XXXI).

Sākētam. Sākētam (Sākēta) probably was a town in southern Oudh, but not identical with Ajodhya, as it is often asserted to be. There were several places of the name (Weber, in *Ind. Ant.* ii, 208). The identifications of the Shā-che of Fa-hien with the Viśākhā of Hiuen Tsang and with Sākētam, as made by Cunningham, are equally unsound (*J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 522; 1900, p. 3). At present the position of Sākētam cannot be determined precisely.

Date of Patañjali. The words of Patañjali, in which he alludes to the horse-sacrifice of Pushyamitra (*iha Pushpamitram yājayāmaḥ*), when

read with other relevant passages, permit of no doubt that the grammarian was the contemporary of that king as well as of the Greek invader Menander. The question of Patañjali's date was the subject of prolonged controversy between Weber on one side, and Goldstucker and Bhandarkar on the other. Ultimately Weber was constrained to admit the substantial validity of his opponents' arguments (*Hist. Ind. Lit.*, 2nd ed., Trubner, 1882, p. 224, note); and no doubt now remains that the date of Patañjali is fixed to 150–140 B.C. in round numbers. References are: Goldstucker, *Pāṇini, His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 228–38; *Ind. Ant.* i, 299–302; ii, 57, 69, 94, 206–10, 238, 362; xv, 80–4; xvi, 156, 172 (the Maurya passage).

The statement in the *Gārgī Saṁhitā* is to the following effect:—

Gārgī Saṁhitā.

'After speaking of the kings of Pātaliputra (mentioning Śāliśūka, the fourth successor of Asoka [*cir.* 200 B.C.] by name), the author adds: "That when the viciously valiant Greeks, after reducing Sāketa (Oude), the Pañchāla country [probably the Doāb between the Jumna and Ganges], and Mathurā, will reach Kusumadhvaja, that is, the royal residence of Pāṭaliputra, and that then all provinces will be in disorder"' (Max Muller, *India, What can it Teach us?*, p. 298; and Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1870, p. 224).

Tāranāth.

The evidence of Tāranāth (1608 A.D., resting on old works), as correctly translated by Schiefner, agrees with that of the *Divyāvadāna* (Burnouf, *Introd.*, 2nd ed., p. 384) in stating that Pushyamitra was the ally of unbelievers, and himself burnt monasteries and slew monks:—

'Es erhob der Brahmanenkonig Puschjamitra sammt den ubrigen Tîrthja's Kreig, verbrannte von Madhyadeça bis Dschalaṁdhara eine Menge von Vihâra's, &c.' (p. 81).

The historian adds that, five years later, Pushyamitra died in the north.

Assuming that Pushyamitra died in 148 B.C., after a reign of thirty-six years, the invasion of Menander may be assigned to the years 155–153 B.C., a date fully in accordance with the numismatic evidence. Coins of Menander are common in India, both in the Panjāb and further east. Forty of his coins were found in the Hamīrpur district to the south of the Jumna in 1877, and brought to the author, who was then on duty in that district. They were associated with coins of Eukratides, Apollodotos Soter, and Antimachos Nikēphoros, and were in good condition (*Ind. Ant.*, 1904, p. 217).

CHAPTER IX

THE INDO-GREEK AND INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTIES, 250 B.C. TO 60 A.D.

Hindū Kush the Maurya frontier.

THE story of the native dynasties in the interior must now be interrupted to admit a brief review of the fortunes of the various foreign rulers who established themselves in the Indian territories once conquered by Alexander, after the sun of the Maurya empire had set, and the north-western frontier was left exposed to foreign attack. The daring and destructive raid of the great Macedonian, as we have seen, had effected none of the permanent results intended. The Indian provinces which he had subjugated, and which Seleukos had failed to recover, passed into the iron grip of Chandragupta, who transmitted them to the keeping of his son and grandson. I see no reason to doubt that the territories west of the Indus ceded by Seleukos to his Indian opponent continued in possession of the successors of the latter, and that consequently the Hindū Kush range was the frontier of the Maurya empire up to the close of Asoka's reign.

Effects of Asoka's death.

But it is certain that the unity of the empire did not survive Asoka, and that when the influence of his dominating personality ceased to act, the outlying provinces shook off their allegiance and set up as independent states; of some of which the history has been told in the last preceding chapter. The regions of the north-western frontier, when no longer protected by the arm of a strong paramount native power in the interior, offered a tempting field to the ambition of the Hellenistic princes of Bactria and Parthia, as well as to the cupidity of the warlike races on the border, which was freely exploited by a succession of invaders. This chapter will be devoted, so far as the very imperfect materials available permit, to a sketch of the leading events in the annals of the Panjāb and trans-Indus

provinces from the close of Asoka's reign to the establishment of the Indo-Scythian, or Kushān, power.

261 B.C. Antiochos Theos.

The spacious Asiatic dominion consolidated by the genius of Seleukos Nikator passed in the year 262 or 261 B.C. into the hands of his grandson Antiochos, a drunken sensualist, miscalled even in his lifetime Theos, or 'the god', and, strange to say, worshipped as such.[1] This worthless prince occupied the throne for fifteen or sixteen years; but towards the close of his reign his empire suffered two grievous losses, by the revolt of the Bactrians, under the leadership of Diodotos, and of the Parthians, under that of Arsakes.

Bactria.

The loss of Bactria was especially grievous. This province, the rich plain watered by the Oxus (Amū Daryā) after its issue from the mountains, had been occupied by civilized men from time immemorial. The country, which was said to contain a thousand towns,[2] always had been regarded, during the time of the Achaemenian kings, as the premier satrapy, and reserved as an appanage for a prince of the blood. When Alexander shattered the Persian power and seated himself upon the throne of the Great King, he continued to bestow his royal favour upon the Bactrians, who in return readily assimilated the elements of Hellenic civilization. Two years after his death, at the final partition of the empire in 321 B.C., Bactria fell to the share of Seleukos Nikator, and continued to be one of the most valuable possessions of his son and grandson.

The Parthians.

The Parthians, a race of rude and hardy horsemen, with habits similar to those of the modern Turkomans, dwelt beyond the Persian deserts in the comparatively infertile regions to the south-east of the Caspian Sea. Their country, along with the territories of the Chorasmioi, Sogdioi, and Arioi

[1] Antiochos Soter died between July 262 and July 261, at the age of sixty-four; and was succeeded by his son Antiochos Theos, then aged about twenty-four years, who put his brother Seleukos to death (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, i, 168, 171, citing *Eusebius*, i, 249). The inscription found at Durdurkar proves that the second Antiochos was worshipped as a god during his life, and that priestesses were also appointed to conduct the worship of his queen Laodikē.

[2] 'Eukratides had a thousand cities which acknowledged his authority' (*Strabo*, bk. xv, sec. ii, 3). 'Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana' (ibid., bk. xi, sec. xi, 1).

(Khwārizm, Samarkand, and Herāt), had been included in the sixteenth satrapy of Darius; and all the tribes named, armed like the Bactrians, with cane bows and short spears, supplied contingents to the host of Xerxes.[1] In the time of Alexander and the early Seleukidae, Parthia proper and Hyrkania, adjoining the Caspian, were combined to form a satrapy. The Parthians, unlike the Bactrians, never adopted Greek culture; and, although submissive to their Persian and Macedonian masters, retained unchanged the habits of a horde of mounted shepherds, equally skilled in the management of their steeds and the use of the bow.[2]

cir. 250 B.C. Date of revolt of Bactrians and Parthians.

These two nations, so widely different in history and manners—the Bactrians, with a thousand cities, and the Parthians, with myriads of moss-troopers—were moved at almost the same moment, about the middle of the third century B.C., to throw off their allegiance to their Seleukidan lord, and assert their independence. The exact dates of these rebellions cannot be determined, but the Bactrian revolt seems to have been the earlier; and there is reason to believe that the Parthian struggle continued for several years, and was not ended until after the death of Antiochos Theos in 246 B.C., although the declaration of Parthian autonomy seems to have been made in 248 B.C.[3]

Diodotos I.

The Bactrian revolt was a rebellion of the ordinary Oriental type, headed by Diodotos, the governor of the province, who seized an opportunity to shake off the authority of his

[1] *Herod.* iii, 93, 117; vii, 64-6.

[2] For a full account of Parthia see Canon Rawlinson's *Sixth Oriental Monarchy*, or his more popular work, *The Story of Parthia*, in the *Story of the Nations* series.

[3] The leading ancient authority is *Justin*, bk. xli, ch. 4; but the consuls whom he specifies to fix the date of the Parthian revolt are not correctly named. He calls the Bactrian leader Theodotus, and says that he revolted 'at the same period'. The details of the evidence for the dates of the two rebellions have been examined repeatedly by Cunningham, Rawlinson, Bevan, and other writers, with the result stated in the text. The date 248 is supposed by Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie to mark the beginning of the Arsakidan era. He agrees with Mr. Bevan in believing that the struggle for Parthian independence lasted for several years (*Sur Deux ères inconnues*, reprint, p. 5). Mr. Bevan thinks that Justin intended to indicate the year 250-249 B.C. as that of the Parthian revolt (*House of Seleucus*, i, 286). Sir H. Howorth prefers the date 248-7 B.C. (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, p. 222).

sovereign and assume the royal state. The Parthian movement was rather a national rising, led by a chief named Arsakes, who is described as being a man of uncertain origin but undoubted bravery, and inured to a life of rapine. Arsakes declared his independence, and so founded the famous Arsakidan dynasty of Persia, which endured for nearly five centuries (248 B.C. to 226 A.D.). The success of both the Bactrian and Parthian rebels was facilitated by the war of succession which disturbed the Seleukidan monarchy after the death of Antiochos Theos.

The line of Bactrian kings initiated by Diodotos was destined to a briefer and stormier existence than that enjoyed by the dynasty of the Arsakidae. Diodotos himself wore his newly-won crown for a brief space only, and after a few years was succeeded (*cir.* 245 B.C.) by his son of the same name, who entered into an alliance with the Parthian king.[1] *cir.* 245 B.C. Diodotus II.

Diodotos II was followed (*cir.* 230 B.C.) by Euthydēmos, a native of Magnesia, who seems to have belonged to a different family, and to have gained the crown by successful rebellion. This monarch became involved in a long-contested war with Antiochos the Great of Syria (223–187 B.C.), which was terminated (*cir.* 208 B.C.) by a treaty recognizing the independence of the Bactrian kingdom. Shortly afterwards (*cir.* 206 B.C.) Antiochos crossed the Hindū Kush, and compelled an Indian king named Subhāgasena, who probably ruled in the Kābul valley, to surrender a considerable number of elephants and large treasure. Leaving Androsthenes of *cir.* 230 B.C. Euthydēmos and Antiochos the Great. *cir.* 208 B.C. *cir.* 206 B.C.

[1] 'Arsaces . . . made himself master of Hyrcania, and thus, invested with authority over two nations, raised a large army, through fear of Seleucus and Theodotus, king of the Bactrians. But being soon relieved of his fears by the death of Theodotus, he made peace and alliance with his son, who was also named Theodotus; and not long after, engaging with king Seleucus [Kallinikos], who came to take vengeance on the revolters, he obtained a victory; and the Parthians observe the day on which it was gained with great solemnity, as the date of the commencement of their liberty' (*Justin*, bk. xli, ch. 4). This explicit testimony outweighs the doubts expressed by numismatists concerning the existence of the second Diodotos. All the extant coins seem to belong to Diodotos II; his father probably did not issue coins in his own name. Sir H. Howorth, who thinks very little of Justin's authority, denies his statement that Arsakes killed Andragoras, the Seleukidan viceroy (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, pp. 217, 222).

Cyzicus to collect this war indemnity, Antiochos in person led his main force homeward by the Kandahār route through Arachosia and Drangiana to Karmania.[1]

cir. 190 B.C. Demetrios king of the Indians.

Demetrios, son of Euthydēmos, and son-in-law of Antiochos, who had given him a daughter in marriage when the independence of Bactria was recognized, repeated his father-in-law's exploits with still greater success, and conquered a considerable portion of Northern India, presumably including Kābul, the Panjāb, and Sind (*cir.* 190 B.C.).[2]

cir. 175 B.C. Eukratides.

The distant Indian wars of Demetrios necessarily weakened his hold upon Bactria, and afforded the opportunity for successful rebellion to one Eukratides, who made himself master of Bactria about 175 B.C., and became involved in many wars with the surrounding states and tribes, which he carried on with varying fortune and unvarying spirit. Demetrios, although he had lost Bactria, long retained his hold upon his eastern conquests, and was known as 'King of the Indians'; but after a severe struggle the victory rested with Eukratides, who was an opponent not easily beaten. It is related that on one occasion, when shut up for five months in a fort with a garrison of only three hundred men, he succeeded in repelling the attack of a host of sixty thousand under the command of Demetrios.[3]

cir. 160–156 B.C. His Indian wars.

cir. 156 B.C.

But the hard-won triumph was short-lived. While Eukratides was on his homeward march from India attended by his

[1] *Polybius*, xi, 34. The name of the Indian king is given as Sophagasenas by the historian, which seems to represent the Sanskrit *Subhāgasena*.

[2] 'The Greeks who occasioned its [Bactria's] revolt, became so powerful by means of its fertility and [the] advantages of the country, that they became masters of Ariana and India, according to Apollodoros of Artemita. Their chiefs, particularly Menander (if he really crossed the Hypanis to the east and reached Isamus), conquered more nations than Alexander. These conquests were achieved partly by Menander, partly by Demetrios, son of Euthydēmos, king of the Bactrians. They got possession not only of Patalene but of the kingdoms of Saraostos and Sigerdis, which constitute the remainder of the coast. Apollodoros, in short, says that Bactriana is the ornament of all Ariana. They extended their empire even as far as the Seres and Phrynoi' (*Strabo*, bk. xi, sec. xi, 1, in Falconer's version). The last clause may point to a temporary Greek occupation of the mountains as far to the east as the λίθινος πύργος of Ptolemy, the exact position of which cannot be determined at present (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, p. 54, cancelling statement in *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 72).

[3] *Justin*, xli, 6.

son, probably Apollodotos, whom he had made his colleague in power, he was barbarously murdered by the unnatural youth, who is said to have gloried in his monstrous crime, driving his chariot wheels through the blood of his father, to whose corpse he refused even the poor honour of burial.[1]

The murder of Eukratides shattered to fragments the kingdom for which he had fought so valiantly. Another son, named Heliokles, who assumed the title of 'the Just', perhaps as the avenger of his father's cruel death, enjoyed for a brief space a precarious tenure of power in Bactria. Strato I, who also seems to have belonged to the family of Eukratides, held a principality in the Panjāb for many years, and was perhaps the immediate successor of Apollodotos. Agathokles and Pantaleon, whose coins are specially Indian in character, were earlier in date, and contemporary with Euthydēmos and Demetrios. It is evident from the great variety of the royal names in the coin-legends, which are nearly forty in number, that both before and after the death of Eukratides, the Indian borderland was parcelled out among a crowd of Greek princelings, for the most part related either to the family of Euthydēmos and Demetrios or to that of their rival Eukratides. Some of these princelings, among whom was Antialkidas, were subdued by Eukratides, who, if he had lived, might have consolidated a great border kingdom. But his death in the hour of victory increased the existing confusion, and it is quite impossible to make a satisfactory territorial and chronological arrangement of the Indo-Greek frontier kings contemporary with and posterior to Eukratides. Their names, which, with two exceptions, are known from coins only, will be found included in the list appended to this chapter (Appendix J). Heliokles, &c.

One name, that of Menander, stands out conspicuously among the crowd of obscure princes. He seems to have belonged to the family of Eukratides, and to have had his capital at Kābul, whence he issued, in or about 155 B.C., to *cir.* 155 B.C. Menander's invasion of India.

[1] *Justin*, xli, 6. All the leading numismatic authorities agree that Heliokles was a son of Eukratides. Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1869, pp. 241–3) shows good reasons for believing that the parricide was Apollodotos, the eldest son of the murdered king.

make the bold invasion of India described in the last chapter. Two years later he was obliged to retire and devote his energies to the encounter with dangers which menaced him at home, due to the never-ending quarrels with his neighbours on the frontier.

Menander's fame. Menander was celebrated as a just ruler, and when he died was honoured with magnificent obsequies. He is supposed to have been a convert to Buddhism, and has been immortalized under the name of Milinda in a celebrated dialogue, entitled 'The Questions of Milinda', which is one of the most notable books in Buddhist literature.[1]

The last Greek king of Bactria. Heliokles, the son of Eukratides, who had obtained Bactria as his share of his father's extensive dominion, was the last king of Greek race to rule the territories to the north of the Hindū Kush. While the Greek princes and princelings were struggling one with the other in obscure wars which history has not condescended to record, a deluge was preparing in the steppes of Central Asia, which was destined to sweep them all away into nothingness.

Expulsion of Śakas by Yueh-chi. A horde of nomads, named the Yueh-chi, whose movements will be more particularly described in the next chapter, were driven out of north-western China about 170 B.C., and compelled to migrate westwards by the route to the north of the deserts.[2] Some years later, before 160 B.C., they encountered another horde, the Sakas or Se, who

[1] The obsequies are described by Plutarch (*Reipubl. ger. praecepta*, quoted textually in *Num. Chron.*, 1869, p. 229). The 'Questions' have been translated by Rhys Davids in *S.B.E.*, vols. xxxv, xxxvi. For identification of Milinda with Menander, doubted by Waddell, see Garbe, *Beitrage zur indischen Kulturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1903, p. 109, note: Tarn, 'Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India' (*J. Hell. Soc.*, 1902, p. 272); and Sarat Chandra Dās in *J. Buddhist Text and Research Soc.*, vol. vii (1904), pp. 1-6. The form *Milindra* occurs in Kshemendra's *Avadāna Kalpalata* and in the Tibetan Tangyur collection.

[2] 165 B.C. is the date commonly given by Chinese scholars: but M. Chavannes (*Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 134, note) says:—'C'est vers l'année 140 av. J.-C. que les *Hioung-nou* vainquirent les *Ta Yue-tche*'. The date 165, first mentioned by Klapròth, is not based on authority. Franke dates the defeat of the Yueh-chi *about* 170 B.C. The southward migration of the Śakas, according to him, must be placed between 174 and 160, but nearer the latter date (*Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Turkvölker*, pp. 29, 55).

occupied the territories lying to the north of the Jaxartes (Syr Daryā) river, as already mentioned.[1]

Nomad invasion of Bactria and India.

The Sakas, accompanied by cognate tribes, were forced to move in a southerly direction, and in course of time entered India from the north, possibly by more roads than one. The flood of barbarian invasion spread also to the west, and burst upon the Parthian kingdom and Bactria in the period between 140 and 120 B.C. The Parthian king Phraates II, the immediate successor of Mithradates I, was killed in battle with the nomads about 127 B.C.; and some four years later, Artabanus I, who followed him on the Parthian throne, met the same fate. The Hellenistic monarchy, which must have been weakened already by the growth of the Parthian or Persian power, was then finally extinguished. The last Graeco-Bactrian king was Heliokles, with whom Greek rule to the north of the Hindū Kush disappeared for ever.[2]

Śaka occupation of Sīstān, &c.

The Saka torrent, still pouring on, surged into the valley of the Hīlmand (Erymandrus) river, and so filled that region, the modern Sīstān, that it became known as Sakastēnē, or the Saka country.

Other branches of the barbarian stream which penetrated the Indian passes deposited settlements at Taxila in the Panjāb and Mathurā on the Jumna, where foreign princes, with the title of satrap, ruled for more than a century, seemingly in subordination to the Parthian power.

Yet another section of the horde, at a later date, about the close of the first century A.D., pushed on southwards and occupied the peninsula of Surāshtra or Kāthiāwar, founding a Saka dynasty which lasted until it was destroyed by Chandra-gupta II, Vikramāditya, about 390 A.D.

Satraps of Taxila and Mathurā.

Strato I, Sotēr, a Greek king of Kābul and the Panjāb, who was to some extent contemporary with Heliokles, was succeeded by Strato II, Philopator, his grandson; who, again,

[1] *Ante*, p. 197.

[2] Μάλιστα δὲ γνώριμοι γεγόνασι τῶν νομάδων οἱ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἀφελόμενοι τὴν Βακτριανήν, Ἄσιοι, καὶ Πασιανοί, καὶ Τόχαροι, καὶ Σακάραυλοι, καὶ ὁρμηθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς περαίας τοῦ Ἰαξάρτου, τῆς κατὰ Σάκας καὶ Σογδιανούς, ἣν κατεῖχον Σάκαι (*Strabo*, xi, 8, 2). The attempts of various writers to identify the Asioi and other tribes named are unsuccessful.

apparently, was displaced at Taxila by certain foreign satraps, who may or may not have been Sakas. The satraps of Mathurā were closely connected with those of Taxila, and belong to the same period, a little before and after 100 B.C.[1] Their names seem to be Persian.

Relations with Parthia.

The movements of the Sakas and allied nomad tribes were closely connected with the development of the Parthian or Persian power under the Arsakidan kings. Mithradates I, a very able monarch (*cir.* 171 to 136 B.C.), who was for many years the contemporary of Eukratides, king of Bactria, succeeded in extending his dominions so widely that his power was felt as far as the Indus, and probably even to the east of that river. I see no good reason for doubting the truth of the explicit statement of Orosius that, subsequent to the defeat of the general of Demetrios and the occupation of Babylon, Mithradates I annexed to his dominions the territory of all the nations between the Indus and the Hydaspes, or Jihlam river. The chiefs of Taxila and Mathurā would not have assumed the purely Persian title of satrap, if they had not regarded themselves as subordinates of the Persian or Parthian sovereign; and the close relations between the Parthian monarchy and the Indian borderland at this period are demonstrated by the appearance of a long line of princes of Parthian origin, who now enter on the scene.[2]

[1] The first known satrap of Taxila was Liaka, whose son was Patika. In the year 78 (? = 99 B.C.) Liaka was directly subordinate to king Moga, who is generally supposed to be Maues or Mauas of the coins. Śodāsa, satrap of Mathurā in the year 72 (? = 105 B.C.), was the son of satrap Rājuvula, whose later coins imitate those of Strato II. Rājuvula succeeded the satraps Hagāna and Hagāmāsha (? brothers), who displaced the native Rājas, Gomitra, Rāmadatta, &c., of whom coins are extant. The coinage of the two Stratos, which covers a period of about seventy years, has been elucidated by Prof. Rapson (*Corolla Numismatica*, p. 245; Oxford, 1906).

[2] The exact limits of the reign of Mithradates I are not known. Justin (xli, 6) states that 'almost at the same time that Mithradates ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eukratides began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men'. The text of the passage in Orosius is:—'Mithridates, tunc siquidem, rex Parthorum sextus ab Arsace, victo Demetrii praefecto Babylonam urbem finesque eius universos victor invasit. Omnes praeterea gentes quae inter Hydaspen fluvium et Indum iacent subegit' (bk. v, ch. iv, sec. 16; ed. Zangemeister,

The earliest of these Indo-Parthian kings apparently was Maues or Mauas, who attained power in the Western Panjāb about 120 B.C., and adopted the title of 'Great King of Kings' (βασιλέως βασιλέων μεγάλου), which had been used for the first time by either Mithradates I or Mithradates II. His coins are closely related to those of both those monarchs, as well as to those of the unmistakably Parthian border chief, who called himself Arsakes Theos. The king Moga, to whom the Taxilian satrap was immediately subordinate, was almost certainly the personage whose name appears on the coins as *Mauou* in the genitive case.[1]

Maues.

The story of the Indo-Parthian dynasties really being that of certain outlying dependencies of the Parthian empire, we should be in a position to understand fully the relations of the Indo-Parthian rulers to the world of their day, if our knowledge of Parthian history were more complete than it is or is likely to be. The material actually available for the reconstruction in outline of Indo-Parthian history is so slight, consisting largely of inferences from numismatic details, that it is impossible to present an ordered narrative of indisputable facts, and the results of investigation necessarily must be in great part speculative. Subject to these cautions, the following sketch expresses my views of the facts—whether ascertained or merely probable—as obtained from special study of the question.

Indo-Parthian kings.

Much obscurity has been caused by the failure of writers on the subject to recognize the plain truth that, besides some subordinate satraps, there were two main lines of Indo-Parthian princes, one of which ruled in Arachosia and Sīstān, while the other governed the Western Panjāb, or

Two dynasties.

Vienna, 1883). The event may be dated about 138 B.C., towards the close of the reign of Mithradates.

[1] Von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 140. Von Gutschmid compares the name Maues or Mauas with that of Mauakēs (v. l. Mabakēs), who commanded the Saka contingent of mounted archers in the army of Darius at Gaugamela or Arbela (Arrian, *Anab.* iii, 8). The chronology is discussed in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 46, and in *Z. D. M. G.*, 1906, pp. 49–72. For the Indo-Parthian coins see *Catal. Coins I. M.*, vol. i, pp. 35–62. If M. Chavannes is right in dating the expulsion of the Yueh-chi from China 'about B.C. 140', the dates in the text will require some modification.

kingdom of Taxila. Maues, as has been seen, became king, about 120 B.C., of the latter province, which, in or about 138 B.C., had been annexed to Parthia by Mithradates I. It is probable that the direct administration of the newly-conquered province by the government of Ctesiphon lasted only for a few years. The struggle with the nomads, which cost Phraates II and Artabanus their lives, between 130 and 120 B.C., must have caused a relaxation in the grip of the central power on remote dependencies like the Indian borderlands; and it is highly probable that Maues, who may have been a Saka, availed himself of the opportunity thus offered to establish himself upon the Panjāb throne in the enjoyment of practical, if not theoretical, independence.

Vonōnēs, &c., in Arachosia.

About the same time, or a few years later, Vonōnēs, a Parthian, became king of Arachosia and Sīstān, no doubt as a feudatory of the Great King at Ctesiphon. Those territories were administered by him and his relatives for a brief period—some twenty-five years—the last of his line being his nephew Azes, who occupied the position of viceroy or subordinate colleague of his father Spalirises, brother of Vonōnēs.

Azes I, Azilises, Azes II.

The Parthian power, which had suffered severely from the shock of the nomad attacks, recovered under the vigorous government of Mithradates II, the Great (acc. *cir.* 123 B.C.). Apparently, that strong ruler took over the direct government of the provinces which had been administered by Vonōnēs and his family, and also reasserted his suzerainty over the less accessible Panjāb. Azes, the viceroy of Arachosia and Sīstān, was then transferred to Taxila, where he succeeded Maues about 90 B.C., and governed the province as a subordinate king under Mithradates. Azes I was succeeded on the throne of the Panjāb, first by his son Azilises and then by his grandson Azes II. Azes I certainly was a powerful prince, and enjoyed a long reign, perhaps extending to half a century. It is known that at the beginning of the Christian era no part of India was included in the Parthian empire, and it is not unlikely that during the course of his long reign Azes I succeeding in establishing

his independence. Azilises and Azes II also seem to have enjoyed a prolonged tenure of power. In the time of the latter, the *stratēgos*, or satrap, Aspavarma, and the satrap Zeiōnises assisted their sovereign in the administration of the Panjāb.

About 20 A.D. Azes II was succeeded by Gondopharēs, who seems to have conquered Sind and Arachosia, making himself master of a wide dominion free from Parthian control. When he died, about 60 A.D., his kingdom was divided, the Western Panjāb falling to the share of his brother's son Abdagases, while Arachosia and Sind passed under the rule of Orthagnes, who was followed by Pakorēs. No successor of Abdagases is known. Towards the close of the first century (*cir.* 90–95 A.D.), the Panjāb was annexed by the Kushān king, Hima or Wima (Kadphises II). Arachosia and Sind probably shared the fate of the Panjāb.

Reign of Gondopharēs.

But petty Parthian principalities may have continued to exist for some time longer in the delta of the Indus. The author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, writing probably towards the close of the first century A.D., found the valley of the Lower Indus, which he called Scythia, under the rule of the Parthian chiefs, engaged in unceasing internecine strife. The Indus at that time had seven mouths, of which only the central one was navigable. The commercial port, known to the traveller as Barbarikon, was situated upon this stream; and the capital, Minnagar, lay inland. The extensive changes which have occurred in the rivers of Sind during the course of eighteen centuries preclude the possibility of satisfactory identifications of either of these towns.[1]

Parthian chiefs in Indus delta.

[1] *Periplus*, ch. 38. The excellent annotated translation by Mr McCrindle of this valuable anonymous work is printed in *Ind. Ant.* viii, pp. 108–51; and has also been published separately. The treatise used to be ascribed to Arrian. Its date has been much debated. Mr. McCrindle places it between 80 and 89 A.D. M. Reinaud (*Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, tome xxiv, part ii; transl. *Ind. Ant.* viii, 330) inclined to date the final redaction of the work in the year 246 or 247 A.D., during the reign of the emperor Philip. But several statements of the author point to a much earlier date. He says that 'the Bactrians are a most warlike race, governed by their own independent sovereigns'. These words may be rightly applied to the period of Yueh-chi

Gondopharēs and St. Thomas.

Special interest attaches to the Indo-Parthian king Gondopharēs because his name is associated with that of St. Thomas, the apostle of the Parthians, in very ancient Christian tradition. The belief that the Parthians were allotted as the peculiar sphere of the missionary labours of St. Thomas goes back to the time of Origen, who died in the middle of the third century, and is also mentioned in the *Clementine Recognitions*, a work of the same period, and possibly somewhat earlier in date. The nearly contemporary *Acts of St. Thomas*, as well as later tradition, generally associate the Indians, rather than the Parthians, with the name of the apostle, but the terms 'India' and 'Indians' had such vague signification in ancient times that the discrepancy is not great. The earliest form of the tradition clearly deserves the greater credit, and there is no apparent reason for discrediting the statement handed down by Origen that Thomas received Parthia as his allotted region. According to the *Clementine Recognitions*, the apostolic preaching brought about very desirable reforms in the morals and manners of the Medes and Persians, who were induced to abandon scandalous practices, forbidden by religion, although sanctioned by immemorial usage.[1]

rule in Bactria, for a Greek author would regard the Scythian Yueh-chi residing there as natives; but they would not be equally applicable to the period of Sassanian domination, which began in 226 A.D. The reference to 'Petra, the residence of Malikhas, the king of the Nabataeans' (ch. 19) indicates a date prior to 105 A.D., when the Nabataean monarchy was destroyed by the Romans. The curious observation (ch. 47) that the silver drachmae of the Bactrian kings, Apollodotos and Menander (*circa* 150 B.C.), were still current at Barygaza (Broach) would be incredible if applied to M. Renaud's date, for small silver coins could not have remained in circulation for 370 years; they would have been worn away. It is remarkable that they should have lasted for two centuries and a half. The book apparently was not used by Pliny, and is therefore presumably later than the publication of his *Natural History* in 77 A.D. It may be dated with some confidence between 77 and 105 A.D. The allusion to the Parthian chiefs in the delta of the Indus harmonizes admirably with this conclusion. The 'Indus' should no doubt be understood to mean the 'Mihrān of Sind', including the Indus properly so called, as explained by Major Raverty.

[1] Book ix, ch. 29 'Denique apud Parthos, sicut Thomas, qui apud illos Evangelium praedicat, scripsit, non multi iam erga plurima matrimonia diffunduntur, nec multi apud Medos canibus obiiciunt mortuos suos, neque Persae matrum coniugiis aut filiarum incestis matrimoniis delectantur, nec mulieres Susides licita ducunt adulteria; nec potuit ad crimina genesis com-

The legend connecting St. Thomas with king Gondopharēs appears for the first time in the Syrian text of the *Acts of St. Thomas*, which was composed at about the same date as the writings of Origen. The substance of the long story may be set forth briefly as follows:— The legend.

'When the twelve apostles divided the countries of the world among themselves by lot, India fell to the share of Judas, surnamed Thomas, or the Twin, who showed unwillingness to start on his mission. At that time an Indian merchant named Habbān[1] arrived in the country of the south, charged by his master, Gundaphar,[2] king of India, to bring back with him a cunning artificer able to build a palace meet for the king. In order to overcome the apostle's reluctance to start for the East, our Lord appeared to the merchant in a vision, sold the apostle to him for twenty pieces of silver, and commanded St. Thomas to serve king Gundaphar and build the palace for him.

'In obedience to his Lord's commands, the apostle sailed next day with Habbān the merchant, and during the voyage assured his companion concerning his skill in architecture and all manner of work in wood and stone. Wafted by favouring winds their ship quickly reached the harbour of Sandarūk.[3] Landing there, the voyagers shared in the marriage feast of the king's daughter, and used their time so well that bride and bridegroom were converted to the true faith. Thence the saint and the merchant proceeded on their voyage, and came to the court of Gundaphar, king of India. St. Thomas promised to build him the palace within the space of six months, but expended the monies given to him for that purpose in almsgiving; and, when called to account, explained that he was building for the king a palace in heaven, not made with hands. He preached with such zeal and grace that the king, his brother Gad,[4]

pellere, quos religionis doctrina prohibebat' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 10). One rather early writer, St. Paulinus of Nola (*b.* 353, *d.* 431), ascribes the conversion of Parthia to the apostle Matthew, in the line—'Parthia Matthaeum complectitur, India Thomam.'

[1] Syriac—Ḥabbān; Greek—'Αββάνης; Latin—Abban or Abbanes.

[2] Syriac—Gundaphar, or Gūdnaphar; Greek—Γουνδαφόρος, Γουνδιαφόρος, or Γουντάφορος; Latin, Gundaforus, or Gundoforus.

[3] Syriac—Sandarūk, or Sanadrūk; Greek—'Ανδράπολις; Latin—Andranopolis, Andranobolys, Andronopolis, or Adrianopolis.

[4] Syriac and Latin—Gad; Greek—Γάδ. Other relatives of the king are also mentioned.

and multitudes of the people embraced the faith. Many signs and wonders were wrought by the holy apostle.

Martyrdom of St. Thomas.

'After a time, Sifūr,[1] the general of king Mazdai,[2] arrived, and besought the apostle to come with him and heal his wife and daughter. St. Thomas hearkened to his prayer, and went with Sifūr to the city of king Mazdai, riding in a chariot. He left his converts in the country of king Gundaphar under the care of deacon Xanthippos.[3] King Mazdai waxed wroth when his queen Tertia[4] and a noble lady named Mygdonia[5] were converted by St. Thomas, who was accordingly sentenced to death and executed by four soldiers, who pierced him with spears on a mountain without the city. The apostle was buried in the sepulchre of the ancient kings; but the disciples secretly removed his bones, and carried them away to the West.'[6]

Criticism of the legend.

Writers of later date, subsequent to the seventh century, profess to know the name of the city where the apostle suffered martyrdom, and call it variously Kalamina, Kalamita, Kalamēna, or Karamēna, and much ingenuity has been expended in futile attempts to identify this city. But the scene of the martyrdom is anonymous in the earlier versions of the tale, and Kalamina should be regarded as a place in fairyland, which it is vain to try and locate on a map. The same observation applies to the attempts at the identification of the port variously called Sandarūk, Andrapolis, and so forth. The whole story is pure mythology, and the geography is as mythical as the tale itself. Its interest in the eyes of the historian of India is confined to the fact that it proves that the real Indian king, Gondopharēs, was remembered two centuries after his death, and was associated in popular belief with the apostolic mission to the Parthians. Inasmuch

[1] Syriac—Sifūr; Greek—Σίφωρ, Σιφώρ, Σίφορος, Σιφώρας, or Σήμφορος; Latin—Saphor, Saphyr, Sapor, Siforus, Sephor, Siforatus, Sinforus, Sinfurus, or Symphoras.

[2] Syriac—Mazdai; Greek—Μισδαῖος, or Μισδέος; Latin—Misdeus, Mesdeus, or Migdeus.

[3] Syriac = Xanthippos; Greek—Ξενοφῶν; Latin—omitted.

[4] Syriac—Tertia; Greek—Τερτία, Τερεντιανή, or Τερτιανή; Latin—Treptia, Tertia, Trepicia, or Triplicia.

[5] Syriac—Mygdonia; Greek—Μυγδονία; Latin—Mygdonia, or Migdonia.

[6] Sokrates Scholastikos (fifth century) and other writers testify that the relics were enshrined at Edessa in Mesopotamia, where a magnificent memorial church was erected.

as Gondopharēs certainly was a Parthian prince, it is reasonable to believe that a Christian mission actually visited the Indo-Parthians of the north-western frontier during his reign, whether or not that mission was conducted by St. Thomas in person. The traditional association of the name of the apostle with that of king Gondopharēs is in no way at variance with the chronology of the reign of the latter as deduced from coins and an inscription.[1]

Alleged mission of St. Thomas to S. India.

The alleged connexion of the apostle with Southern India and the Mailapur shrine near Madras, dubbed San Thomé by the Portuguese, stands on a different footing. The traditions of the 'Christians of St. Thomas' on the western, or Malabar, coast assert that the apostle landed at Cranganore (Muziris of Pliny and the *Periplus*) on that coast, and laid the foundations of seven Christian centres in the province; that he passed over to the Ma'abar or Coromandel coast, where he suffered martyrdom at Mailapur; and that subsequent persecution extirpated the Christian churches of Coromandel. Bishop Medlycott, in a recent treatise full of abstruse learning, has endeavoured to prove the historical truth of this tradition, but, in my judgement, without success. If there is any basis of truth in the Gondopharēs legend, which seems probable, it is very improbable that the Mailapur story also can be founded on fact. I think that the Rev. G. Milne Rae is nearer the truth when he maintains that 'Southern India received Christianity, not from any of the ancient seats of the Church, not from Jerusalem or Antioch, not from Alexandria, or Rome, or Constantinople, but from the Nestorian Patriarchate on the banks of the Tigris; not by the way of the Red Sea, but by way of the Persian Gulf; not in the fourth century, nor until the

[1] The coins and inscription give the king's name in sundry variant forms (in the genitive case)—as Gondopharēs, Guduphara, Gudapharna, &c. The inscription, which was found at Takht-i-Bahai, NE. of Peshāwar, is dated in the 26th year of the Maharaya Guduphara, in the year 103 of an unspecified era. The archaeological evidence for the reign is discussed by Von Sallet (*Nachfolger Alexanders des Grossen*); Percy Gardner (*B. M. Catal. Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of India*; Senart (*Notes d'épigraphie indienne*, No. iii, p. 11); V. A. Smith ('The Kushān period of Indian History' in *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 40); and many other writers.

beginning of the sixth'. The Patriarchate of Babylon was set up in 498 A.D. The earliest distinct mention of the alleged martyrdom of St. Thomas at Mailapur is in the *Travels* of Marco Polo, who found the legend well established there in 1288 A.D. How or when it originated no man can tell for certain, but the fact that the Eastern Christians were known generically as the 'Christians of St. Thomas' was likely to suggest fanciful mythology connected with the name of the apostle Thomas. Mr. Kennedy has shown reason for believing that the Mailapur story was invented in the sixth century. In my opinion the alleged evangelization of Southern India by St. Thomas in person is purely mythical. The historical Church of the South is of Nestorian origin, dating from either the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth.[1]

The later Indo-Greek princes.

For a period of some two centuries after the beginning of the nomad and Parthian invasions, the northern portions of the Indian borderland, comprising probably the valley of the Kābul river, the Suwāt valley, some neighbouring districts to the north and north-west of Peshāwar, and the Eastern Panjāb, remained under the government of local Greek princes; who, whether independent, or subject to the suzerainty of a Parthian overlord, certainly exercised the prerogative of coining silver and bronze money.

cir. 30–50 A.D. Hermaios; Kadphises I.

The last of these Indo-Greek rulers was Hermaios, who succumbed to the Yueh-chi, or Kushān, chief, Kadphises I, about 50 A.D., when that enterprising monarch added Kābul to the growing Yueh-chi empire.[2] The Yueh-chi chief at

[1] The story in the text and the references to early Christian writers in the notes are taken from the valuable and almost exhaustive essay by Mr. W. R. Philipps, entitled 'The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India' (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxxii, 1903, pp. 1–15, 145–60); which supersedes most of the earlier publications on the subject. The Anglo-Indian reader requires to be specially cautioned against the serious blunders made by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his abstracts of the ecclesiastical legends (*Arch. Rep.* ii, 60; v, 60). The fiction of the mission of St. Thomas to Southern India may be due in part to a confusion between the apostle and Thomas the Manichaean, who is supposed to have visited India in 233 A.D. One Thomas of Jerusalem is said also to have visited the southern Christians in 345 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.* iv, 182; ix, 313). See G. Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India*, 1892; Bishop Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, 1905; and Mr. Kennedy's paper in 'The East and the West', 1906, p. 197.

[2] An outline of the approximate

first struck coins jointly in the name of himself and the Greek prince, retaining on the obverse the portrait of Hermaios with his titles in Greek letters. After a time, while still preserving the familiar portrait, he substituted his own name and style in the legend. The next step taken was to replace the bust of Hermaios by the effigy of Augustus, as in his later years, and so to do homage to the expanding fame of that emperor, who, without striking a blow, and by the mere terror of the Roman name, had compelled the Parthians to restore the standards of Crassus (20 B.C.), which had been captured thirty-three years earlier.[1]

Still later probably are those coins of Kadphises I, which dispense altogether with the royal effigy, and present on the obverse an Indian bull, and on the reverse a Bactrian camel, devices fitly symbolizing the conquest of India by a horde of nomads.[2]

Meaning of numismatic record.

Thus the numismatic record offers a distinctly legible abstract of the political history of the times, and tells in outline the story of the gradual supersession of the last outposts of Greek authority by the irresistible advance of the hosts from the steppes of Central Asia.

Contact between Greece and India.

When the European historian, with his mind steeped in the conviction of the immeasurable debt owed to Hellas by modern civilization, stands by the side of the grave of Greek rule in India, it is inevitable that he should ask what was the result of the contact between Greece and India. Was Alexander to Indian eyes nothing more than the irresistible cavalry leader before whose onset the greatest armies were scattered like chaff, or was he recognized, consciously or unconsciously, as the pioneer of western civilization and the parent of model institutions? Did the long-continued government of Greek rulers in the Panjāb vanish before the assault of rude barbarians without leaving a trace of its existence save coins,

chronology will be found in the Synchronistic Table, Appendix K, at the end of this chapter. Only the more important names are included in the table.

[1] Plate of coins, fig. 4, *ante*.

[2] In the twelfth century the Bactrian camel with two humps was still bred in Upper Sind (Al-Idrīsī, quoted by Raverty, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxi, part i (1892), p. 224.

or did it impress an Hellenic stamp upon the ancient fabric of Indian polity?

Niese's opinions.

Questions such as these have received widely divergent answers; but undoubtedly the general tendency of European scholars has been to exaggerate the hellenizing effects of Alexander's invasion and of the Indo-Greek rule on the north-western frontier. The most extreme 'Hellenist' view is that expressed by Herr Niese, who is convinced that all the later development of India depends indirectly upon the institutions of Alexander, and that Chandragupta Maurya recognized the suzerainty of Seleukos Nikator. Such notions are so plainly opposed to the evidence that they might be supposed to need no refutation, but they have been accepted to a certain extent by English writers of repute; who are, as already observed, inclined naturally to believe that India, like Europe and a large part of Asia, must have yielded to the subtle action of Hellenic ideas.

Slight influence of Alexander on India.

It is therefore worth while to consider impartially and without prejudice the extent of the Hellenic influence upon India from the invasion of Alexander to the Kushān or Indo-Scythian conquest at the end of the first century of the Christian era, a period of four centuries in round numbers.

The author's opinion that India was not hellenized by the operations of Alexander has been expressed in the chapter of this work dealing with his retreat from India,[1] but it is advisable to remind the reader of the leading facts in connexion with the more general question of Hellenic influence upon Indian civilization during four hundred years. In order to form a correct judgement in the matter it is essential to bear dates in mind. Alexander stayed only nineteen months in India, and, however far-reaching his plans may have been, it is manifestly impossible that during those few months of incessant conflict he should have founded Hellenic institutions on a permanent basis, or materially affected the structure of Hindu polity and society. As a matter of fact, he did nothing of the sort, and within two years of his death, with the exception of some small garrisons

[1] *Ante*, p. 110.

under Eudāmos in the Indus valley, the whole apparatus of Macedonian rule had been swept away. After the year 316 B.C. not a trace of it remained. The only mark of Alexander's direct influence on India is the existence of a few coins modelled in imitation of Greek types which were struck by Saubhūti (Sophytes), the chief of the Salt Range, whom he subdued at the beginning of the voyage down the rivers.

Failure of Seleukos Nikator. Twenty years after Alexander's death, Seleukos Nikator attempted to recover the Macedonian conquests east of the Indus, but failed, and more than failed, being obliged, not only to forgo all claims on the provinces temporarily occupied by Alexander, but to surrender a large part of Ariana, west of the Indus, to Chandragupta Maurya. The Indian administration and society so well described by Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos, were Hindu in character, with some features borrowed from Persia, but none from Greece.[1] The assertion that the development of India depended in any way on the institutions of Alexander has no substantial basis of fact.

Maurya empire. For eighty or ninety years after the death of Alexander the strong arm of the Maurya emperors held India for the Indians against all comers, and those monarchs treated with their Hellenistic neighbours on equal terms. Asoka was much more anxious to communicate the blessings of Buddhist teaching to Antiochos and Ptolemy than to borrow Greek notions from them. Although it certainly appears to be true that Indian plastic and pictorial art, such as it was, drew its inspiration from Hellenistic Alexandrian models during the Maurya period, the Greek influence merely touched the fringe of Hindu civilization, and was powerless to modify the structure of Indian institutions in any essential respect.

[1] The duties of the officers maintained by Chandragupta to 'attend to the entertainment of foreigners' (*Strabo*, xv, 1, 50-2) were identical with those of the Greek *proxenoi* (πρόξενοι), and it is possible, though not proved, that the Indian institution may have been borrowed from the Greek (Newton, *Essays on Art and Archaeology*, p. 121; *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 200).

Invasion of Antiochos the Great.

For almost a hundred years after the failure of Seleukos Nikator no Greek sovereign presumed to attack India. Then Antiochos the Great (*cir.* 206 B.C.) marched through the hills of the country now called Afghanistan, and went home by Kandahār and Sīstān, levying a war indemnity of treasure and elephants from a local chief.[1] This brief campaign can have had no appreciable effect on the institutions of India, and its occurrence probably was unknown to many of the courts east of the Indus.

Subsequent Greek invasions.

The subsequent invasions of Demetrios, Eukratides, and Menander, which extended with intervals over a period of about half a century (190–153 B.C.), penetrated more deeply into the interior of the country; but they too were transient raids, and cannot possibly have affected seriously the ancient and deeply rooted civilization of India. It is noticeable that the Hindu astronomer refers to Menander's Greeks as the 'viciously valiant Yavanas'. The Indians were impressed by both Alexander and Menander as mighty captains, not as missionaries of culture, and no doubt regarded both those sovereigns as impure barbarians, to be feared, but not imitated.

The East has seldom shown much readiness to learn from the West; and when Indians have condescended, as in the cases of relief sculpture and the drama, to borrow ideas from European teachers, the thing borrowed has been so cleverly disguised in native trappings that the originality of the Indian imitators is stoutly maintained even by acute and learned critics.[2]

Greek occupation of Panjāb.

The Panjāb, or a considerable part of it, with some of the adjoining regions, remained more or less under Greek rule for nearly two centuries and a half, from the time of Demetrios (*cir.* 190 B.C.) to the overthrow of Hermaios by the Kushāns

[1] *Ante*, p. 209.

[2] The author is still firmly convinced that Weber and Windisch are right in tracing the Indian drama to a Greek origin. See Weber, *Hist. Ind. Liter.* (Trubner, p. 217), and Windisch, *Der griechische Einfluss im indischen Drama*, Berlin, 1882. The contrary proposition is maintained by M. Sylvain Lévi (*Théâtre Indien*, pp. 343-66), with whom most scholars agree. The Alexandrian origin of the Indian bas-reliefs of the Asoka period has been discussed briefly by the author in his chapter on *Archaeology* contributed to vol ii. of 'The Indian Empire' in the revised *Imperial Gazetteer*.

(*cir.* 50 A.D.), and we might reasonably expect to find clear signs of hellenization in those countries. But the traces of Hellenic influence even there are surprisingly slight and trivial. Except the coins, which retain Greek legends on the obverse, and are throughout mainly Greek in type, although they begin to be bilingual from the time of Demetrios and Eukratides, scarcely any indication of the prolonged foreign rule can be specified. The coinage undoubtedly goes far to prove that the Greek language was used to some extent in the courts of the frontier princes, but the introduction of native legends on the reverses demonstrates that it was not understood by the people at large. No inscriptions in that tongue have yet been discovered, and the single Greek name, Theodore, met with in a native record, comes from the Suwāt valley, and is of late date, perhaps 56 A.D.[1]

There is no evidence that Greek architecture was ever introduced into India. A temple with Ionic pillars, dating from the time of Azes I, *cir.* 80 B.C., has been discovered at Taxila; but the plan of the building is not Greek, and the pillars of foreign pattern are merely borrowed ornaments.[2] The earliest known example of Indo-Greek sculpture belongs to the same period, the reign of Azes,[3] and not a single specimen can be referred to the times of Demetrios, Eukratides, and Menander, not to speak of Alexander. The well-known sculptures of Gandhāra, the region round Peshāwar, are much later in date, and are the offspring of cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman art. Absence of Greek architecture.

The conclusion of the matter is that the invasions of Alexander, Antiochos the Great, Demetrios, Eukratides, and Conclusion.

[1] *J. Ind. Art*, Jan. 1900, p. 89; *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 14.

[2] Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.* ii, 129; v, 69–72, 190, Pl. XVII, XVIII. The 'large copper coins' of the foundation deposit must be those of Azes I. V. A. Smith, 'Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India' (*J. A. S. B.*, 1889, vol. lviii, part i, pp. 115, 116). Mr. Growse found a fragment of sculpture in the Mathurā district, 'where a niche is supported by columns with Ionic capitals' (*Mathurā*, 3rd ed., p. 171). Cunningham published a plaster fragment of a *Roman* Ionic capital from the Ahinposh *stūpa* at Jalālābād (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1879, p. 209, Pl. XI).

[3] The statuette in the pose of Pallas Athene (*J. A. S. B. ut supra*, p. 121, Pl. VII). Dr. Burgess points out that the figure seems to have been intended to represent a Yavanī doorkeeper.

Menander were in fact, whatever their authors may have intended, merely military incursions, which left no appreciable mark upon the institutions of India. The prolonged occupation of the Panjāb and neighbouring regions by Greek rulers had extremely little effect in hellenizing the country. Greek political institutions and architecture were rejected, although to a small extent Hellenic example was accepted in the decorative arts, and the Greek language must have been more or less familiar to the officials at the kings' courts. The literature of Greece probably was known slightly to some of the native officers, who were obliged to learn their masters' language for business purposes, but that language was not widely diffused, and the impression made by Greek authors upon Indian literature and science is hardly traceable until after the close of the period under discussion. The later and more important Graeco-Roman influence on the civilization of India will be noticed briefly in the next chapter.[1]

[1] The opinions expressed in the text agree generally with those held by Mr. Tarn ('Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India'; *J. Hellenic Studies*, 1902, pp. 268–93).

APPENDIX J

Alphabetical List of Bactrian and Indo-Greek Kings and Queens [1]

Serial No.	*Name*	*Greek title or epithet.*	*Remarks*
1	Agathokleia .	Theotropos .	Mother of Strato I; regent during his minority.
2	Agathokles .	Dikaios	Probably succeeded Pantaleon, No. 28, and contemporary with Euthydēmos I or Demetrios.
3	Amyntas . .	Nikator . .	A little earlier than Hermaios.
4	Antialkidas .	Nikēphoros .	Contemporary with early years of Eukratides, *cir.* 170 B.C.
5	Antimachos I	Theos . .	Probably succeeded Diodotos II, No. 13, in Kābul.
6	Antimachos II	Nikēphoros .	Later than Eukratides, No. 17, or possibly contemporary.
7	Apollodotos .	Soter, Megas, Philopator [2]	Probably son of Eukratides, and king of entire Indian frontier.
8	Apollophanes	Soter . . .	Probably contemporary with Strato I or II, in Eastern Panjāb.
9	Archebios. .	Dikaios, Nikēphoros	Probably connected with Heliokles.
10	Artemidoros .	Anikētos . .	Later than Menander.
11	Demetrios .	Anikētos	Son of Euthydēmos I, No. 18.
12	Diodotos I .	——	No coins known; *cir.* 250–245 B.C.
13	Diodotos II .	Soter . . .	Son of No. 12.
14	Diomedes. .	Soter . .	Apparently connected with Eukratides, No. 17.
15	Dionysios. .	Soter . .	Later than Apollodotos.
16	Epander . .	Nikēphoros	Probably later than Eukratides, No. 17.
17	Eukratides .	Megas . . .	Contemporary with Mithradates I; *cir.* 175–156 B.C.
18	Euthydēmos I	——	Subsequent to Diodotos II, No. 13; *cir.* 230–200 B.C.
19	Euthydēmos II	——	Probably son of No. 11.
20	Heliokles . .	Dikaios . .	Son of No. 17; last of Bactrian dynasty.
21	Hermaios. .	Soter . . .	Last Indo-Greek king of Kābul; *cir.* 20–50 A.D.
22	Hippostratos	Soter, Megas	Probably succeeded Apollodotos.
23	Kalliopē . .	——	Queen of Hermaios.

[1] Based on Von Sallet's lists, and brought up to date. The geographical and chronological position of many of the rulers named is so uncertain that an alphabetical list is the best.

[2] Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1870, p. 81). Gardner (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 34) distinguishes A. Soter from A. Philopator, and Prof. Rapson is disposed to accept this view.

Serial No.	Name	Greek title or epithet.	Remarks.
24	Laodikē .	——	Mother of Eukratides.[1]
25	Lysias . . .	Anikētos . .	Predecessor of Antialkidas, No. 4.
26	Menander.	Soter, Dikaios	Later than Eukratides, invaded India about 155 B.C.
27	Nikias . .	Soter	Later than Eukratides.
28	Pantaleon. .	——	Contemporary with Euthydēmos I or Demetrios, probably preceded Agathokles, No. 2; *cir.* 190 B.C.
29	Peukelaos	Dikaios, Soter	Contemporary with Hippostratos (*J. A. S. B.*, 1898, part i, p. 131).
30	Philoxenos .	Anikētos .	Probably succeeded Antimachos II, No. 6.
31	Plato . .	Epiphanes .	165 B.C., contemporary with Eukratides, No. 17.[2]
32	(?) Polyxenos	Epiphanes, Soter	*Num. Chron.*, 1896, p. 269: Prof. Rapson doubts the genuineness of the unique coin described.
33	Strato I . .	Soter, Epiphanes, Dikaios	Contemporary with Heliokles; reigned long.
34	Strato II .	Soter . . .	Grandson of No. 33.
35	Telephos .	Euergetes. .	*J. A. S. B.*, 1898, part i, p. 130.
36	Theophilos .	Dikaios .	*J. A. S. B.*, 1897, part i, p. 1; connected with Lysias.
37	Zoilos . . .	Soter, Dikaios	Apparently later than Apollodotos, and nearly contemporary with Dionysios, probably in Eastern Panjāb.

[1] Gardner (*B. M. Catal.*, p. 19). Heliokles seems to have been the name of the father, as well as of the son, of Eukratides.

[2] The letters on Plato's coin are interpreted as signifying the year 147 of the Seleukidan era, equivalent to 165 B. C.

APPENDIX K. *Synchronistic Table,* 280 B.C. *to* 60 A.D.

B.C.	*Syria.*	*Bactria*	*Parthia (Persia).*	*NW. Indian Frontier, Panjāb, and Kābul*	*Interior India.*	*Remarks.*
280	Antiochos Soter acc.					
261	Antiochos Theos acc					
c 250		Diodotos I acc.				
c. 248			Arsakes I acc	Maurya dynasty		
c. 246	Seleukos Kallinikos acc. (Antiochos Hierax, rival)					
c 245		Diodotos II acc				
c 232–1						Death of Asoka
c 230		Euthydēmos acc.			Maurya dynasty	
223	Antiochos III (the Great)					
c. 208						Recognition of Bactrian independence
c 206						
c 200				Demetrios — Euthydēmos II; Antimachos; Pantaleon; Agathokles		Invasion of Kābul by Antiochos the Great.
c 190						Indian conquests of Demetrios.
187	Seleukos Philopator acc					
184					Pushyamitra Śunga acc.	
c 175		Eukratides acc				
c 174			Mithradates I acc			
165		Plato (rival of Eukratides)		Menander (Kābul)		
c. 156		Heliokles		Apollodotos		
c 155						Invasion of India by Menander.
c. 148					Agnimitra Śunga acc	
c 138–130		*End of Bactrian dynasty*		Various Greek princes		Saka invasion of Bactria, &c.
c 136			Phraates II acc.			
124 or 123			Mithradates II acc.			
c. 120				Strato I — Strato II; Maues acc. (W Panjāb); Satraps of Taxila and Mathurā		
c. 115				Vonōnēs acc.; Various Greek princes		
c. 90				Azes I acc. (Arachosia)		
c. 72					Vasudeva Kānva acc	
A D. 21				Gondopharēs acc; Hermaios		St Thomas
c. 50						Overthrow of Hermaios by Kushāns.
c 60				Death of Gondopharēs		

CHAPTER X

THE KUSHAN OR INDO-SCYTHIAN DYNASTY FROM 45 TO 225 A.D.

Yueh-chi migration.

THE migrations of the nomad nations of the Central Asian steppes, briefly noticed in the last preceding chapter, produced on the political fortunes of India effects so momentous that they deserve and demand fuller treatment.

A tribe of Turkī nomads, known to Chinese authors as the Hiung-nū, succeeded in inflicting upon a neighbouring and rival horde of the same stock a decisive defeat about the middle of the second century B.C. The date of this event is stated, without adequate authority, as 165 B.C. by most scholars, but M. Chavannes puts it some twenty or twenty-five years later, while Dr. Franke gives the limiting dates as 174 and 160 B.C. The Yueh-chi were compelled to quit the lands which they occupied in the province of Kan-suh in north-western China, and to migrate westwards in search of fresh pasture-grounds. The moving horde mustered a force of bowmen, estimated to number from one hundred to two hundred thousand; and the whole multitude must have comprised, at least, from half a million to a million persons of all ages and both sexes.[1]

Defeat of the Wu-sun.

In the course of their westward migration in search of grazing-grounds adequate for the sustenance of their vast numbers of horses, cattle, and sheep, the Yueh-chi, moving along the route past Kuchā (N. lat. 41° 38′, E. long. 83° 25′), to the north of the desert of Gobi, came into conflict with

[1] M. Chavannes gives the date of the Yueh-chi defeat as 'vers l'année 140 av. J-C.' (*Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 134 note). The Hiung-nū were not Huns, as supposed by De Guignes, nor Ephthalites, as supposed by Kingsmill (Specht, in *J. A.*, 1883; *Ind Ant.*, 1886, p 19); but probably were of Turkī race. The Yueh-chi, too, were not snub-nosed Mongols, but big men with pink complexions and large noses, resembling the Hiung-nū in manners and customs (Kingsmill, *J. R. A. S.*, 1882, p. 7, of reprint of *Intercourse of China with Eastern Turkestan*).

a smaller horde, named Wu-sun, which occupied the basin of the Ili river and its southern tributaries, the Tékès and Kongès.[1] The Wu-sun, although numbering a force of only ten thousand bowmen, could not submit patiently to the devastation of their lands, and sought to defend them. But the superior numbers of the Yueh-chi assured the success of the invaders, who slew the Wu-sun chieftain, and then passed on westwards, beyond Lake Issyk-kūl, the Lake Tsing of Hiuen Tsang, in search of more spacious pastures. A small section of the immigrants, diverging to the south, settled on the Tibetan border, and became known as the Little Yueh-chi; while the main body, which continued the westward march, was designated the Great Yueh-chi.

The next foes encountered by the Yueh-chi, were the Sakas, or Se, who doubtless included more than one horde; for, as Herodotus observes, the Persians were accustomed to use the term Sakai to denote all Scythian nomads. The Sakas, who dwelt to the west of the Wu-sun, and to the north of the Jaxartes (Syr Daryā) also attempted to defend their lands; but met with even worse success than the Wu-sun, being compelled to vacate their pasture-grounds in favour of the victorious Yueh-chi, who occupied them. The Sakas were forced to migrate in search of new quarters, and, ultimately, as stated in the last preceding chapter, made their way into India and Sīstān, through the northern passes.[2] Defeat of the Śakas.

For some fifteen or twenty years the Yueh-chi remained *cir.* 110 B.C.[3]

[1] Chavannes, *Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 263.

[2] In the time of Darius, son of Hystaspes (500 B.C.), the Sakai, with the Caspii, formed the fifteenth satrapy; and, in the army of Xerxes, they were associated with the Bactrians under the command of Hystaspes, the son of Darius and Atossa (*Herod.* iii, 93; vii, 64). Now that the position of the Wu-sun has been determined, and the line of the Yueh-chi migration thus fixed, the approximate location of the Sakai must be as stated in the text. Strabo clearly states that the Sakai and allied tribes came from the neighbourhood of the Jaxartes. Canon Rawlinson's opinion that they occupied the Kāshgar and Yarkand territory in the days of Darius (*Herod.* transl., vol. ii, 403; v, 170) is no longer tenable. The Śaka migration is discussed fully in my paper, 'The Śakas in Northern India,' *Z. D. M. G.*, 1907, pp. 403–21.

[3] If M. Chavannes is right, this date must be altered to 'about 120, or 125 B.C.'

Defeat of the Yueh-chi. undisturbed in their usurped territory. But meantime their ancient enemies, the Hiung-nū, had protected the infant son of the slain Wu-sun chieftain, who had grown to manhood under their care. This youth, with Hiung-nū help, attacked the Yueh-chi, and avenged his father's death by driving them from the lands which they had wrested from the Sakas. Being thus forced to resume their march, the Yueh-chi moved into the valley of the Oxus, and reduced to subjection its peaceful inhabitants, known to the Chinese as Ta-hia. The political domination of the Yueh-chi probably was extended at once over Bactria, to the south of the Oxus, but the headquarters of the horde continued for many years to be on the north side of the river, and the pastures on that side sufficed for the wants of the new comers.

The Yueh-chi settle down. In the course of time, which may be estimated at two or three generations, the Yueh-chi lost their nomad habits; and became a settled, territorial nation, in actual occupation of the Bactrian lands south of the river, as well as of Sogdiana to the north, and were divided into five principalities. As a rough approximation to the truth, this political and social development, with its accompanying growth of population, may be assumed to have been completed about 70 B.C. [70 B.C.]

Unification of Yueh-chi kingdom. For the next century nothing is known about Yueh-chi history; but more than a hundred years after the division of the nation into five territorial principalities situated to the north of the Hindū Kush, the chief of the Kushān section of the horde, who is conventionally known to European writers as Kadphises I, succeeded in imposing his authority on his colleagues, and establishing himself as sole monarch of the Yueh-chi nation. His accession as such may be dated approximately in the year 45 A.D., which cannot be very far wrong.[1] [45 A.D.]

[1] For the arguments in favour of the chronology as stated in the text, see the author's paper, 'The Kushān, or Indo-Scythian, Period of Indian History,' in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, which gives full references to authorities. Most books antedate the unification of the Kushān monarchy by some seventy years, in consequence of a misunderstanding of a condensed version of the history given in Ma-twan-lin's Chinese

The pressure of population upon the means of subsistence which had impelled the Yueh-chi horde to undertake the long and arduous march from the borders of China to the Hindū Kush, now drove it across that barrier, and stimulated Kadphises I to engage in the formidable task of subjugating the provinces to the south of the mountains. The Yueh-chi cross the Hindū Kush.

He made himself master of Ki-pin (? Kashmīr, ? Kāfiristān) as well as of the Kābul territory,[1] and, in the course of a long reign, consolidated his power in Bactria, and found time to attack the Parthians. His empire thus extended from the frontiers of Persia to the Indus, and included Sogdiana, now the Khanate of Bukhāra, with probably all the territories comprised in the existing kingdom of Afghanistan. The complete subjugation of the hardy mountaineers of the Afghan highlands, who have withstood so many invaders with success, must have occupied many years, and cannot be assigned to any particular year, but 60 A.D. may be taken as a mean date for the conquest of Kābul. Empire of Kadphises I.

The Yueh-chi advance necessarily involved the suppression of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian chiefs of principalities Extinction of Indo-Greek and

encyclopaedia of the thirteenth century. The publication of translations of the original texts which the encyclopaedist abstracted has made the true meaning plain, although exact dates are not known. The general correctness of the chronology in the text is not dependent on the validity of the theory that certain inscriptions are dated in the Laukika era. Even if it should hereafter be proved that the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors are dated in a special era, the soundness of the chronological scheme adopted in this chapter would not be seriously affected. The king called Kadphises I in the text is the Kieū-tsieū-k'io of the Chinese, and the Kozolakadaphes, Kozoulokadphises, and Kujulakarakadphises of various coins. The exact meaning of these names or titles is unknown.

[1] The Chinese texts, as M. Sylvain Lévi has proved conclusively, distinguish Ki-pin from Kao-fū, or Kābul. The signification of Ki-pin has varied. In the seventh century, in the time of the Tang dynasty, it generally, although not invariably, meant Kapiśa, or north-eastern Afghanistan. In the time of the Han and Wei dynasties the term ordinarily meant Kashmīr. The period referred to in the text being that of the later Han dynasty, Ki-pin perhaps should be interpreted as meaning Kashmīr (Sylvain Lévi, in *J. A.*, tome vii, ser. ix, p. 161; tome x, pp. 526-31; Chavannes, *Turcs Occidentaux*, pp. 52, 276, and Addenda, p. 307, at top; *Voyage de Song Yun*, p. 54). But the Kapiśa signification would suit better. See the learned observations of Watters, *On Yuan-chwang*, i, 197. Dr. Stein spells Ki-pin as Chi-pin. All Chinese names are spelt in a great variety of ways by different authors. Dates, also, are given with a certain amount of variation.

Indo-Parthian power.

to the west of the Indus; and in the last preceding chapter proof has been given of the manner in which the coinage legibly records the outline of the story of the gradual supersession of Hermaios, the last Greek prince of Kābul, by the barbarian invaders.

The final extinction of the Indo-Parthian power in the Panjāb and the Indus valley was reserved for the reign of the successor of Kadphises I, who is most conveniently designated as Kadphises II.

cir. 85 A. D. Kadphises II.

At the age of eighty Kadphises I closed his victorious reign, and was succeeded, in or about 85 A. D., by his son Kadphises II.[1] This prince, no less ambitious and enterprising than his father, devoted himself to the further extension of the Yueh-chi dominion, and even ventured to measure swords with the Chinese emperor.

Relations with China.

The embassy of Chang-kien in 125–115 B. C. to the Yueh-chi, while they still resided in Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus, had brought the western barbarians into touch with the Middle Kingdom, and for a century and a quarter the emperors of China kept up intercourse with the Scythian powers. In the year 8 A. D. official relations ceased, and when the first Han dynasty came to an end in 23 A. D., Chinese influence in the western countries had been reduced to nothing. Fifty years later Chinese ambition reasserted itself, and for a period of thirty years, from 73 to 102 A. D., General Pan-chao led an army from victory to victory as far as the confines of the Roman empire,[2] and thus effected the greatest westward extension ever attained by the power of China. The king of Khotan, who had first made his submission in 73 A. D., was followed by several other princes, including the king of Kāshgar, and the route to the west along the southern edge of the desert was thus opened to the arms

73–102 A. D.

[1] Yen-kao-ching of the Chinese; Wima (Ooēmo) Kadphises, &c., of the coins.

[2] Prof. Douglas says that 'an army under General Pan-c'hao marched to Khoten, and even carried their country's flag to the shores of the Caspian Sea' (*China*, in *Story of Nations* Series, p. 18). M. Sylvain Lévi, referring to Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine*, says—'jusqu'aux confins du monde gréco-romain' *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, p. 50).

and commerce of China. The reduction of Kuchā and Kara-shahr in 94 A.D. similarly threw open the northern road.

The steady advance of the victorious Chinese evidently alarmed Kadphises II, who regarded himself as the equal of the emperor, and had no intention of accepting the position of a vassal. Accordingly, in 90 A.D., he boldly asserted his equality by demanding a Chinese princess in marriage. General Pan-chao, who considered the proposal an affront to his master, arrested the envoy and sent him home. Kadphises II, unable to brook this treatment, equipped a formidable force of 70,000 cavalry under the command of his viceroy Si, which was dispatched across the Tsung-ling range, or Tāghdumbāsh Pāmīr, to attack the Chinese. The army of Si probably advanced by the Tāshkurghān Pass, some fourteen thousand feet high,[1] and was so shattered by its sufferings during the passage of the mountains, that when it emerged into the plain below, either that of Kāshgar or Yārkand, it fell an easy prey to Pan-chao, and was totally defeated. Kadphises II was compelled to pay tribute to China, and the Chinese annals record the arrival of several missions bearing tribute at this period.[2] *cir.* 90 A.D. War with China.

This serious check did not crush the ambition of the Yueh-chi monarch, who now undertook the easier task of attacking India. *cir.* 95 A.D. Conquest of NW. India.

Success in this direction compensated for failure against the power of China, and the Yueh-chi dominion was gradually extended (90 to 100 A.D.) all over North-Western India, probably as far east as Benares,[3] with the exception, perhaps, of

[1] For an account of Tāshkurghān in the Sarīkol tract of the mountains, see Stein, *Preliminary Report of Exploration in Chinese Turkestan*, pp. 11–13; *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, ch. v; *Ancient Khotan*, p. 54, note 17.

[2] 'In the time of the Emperor Hwa [= Hiao-houo-ti, or Ho-ti] (89–105) they [the Indians] often sent messengers to China and presented something, as if it were their tribute. But afterwards those of the western regions rebelled (against the emperor of China), and interrupted their communication, until the second year of the period Yen-hsi (159) in the reign of the Emperor Kwan [= Hwan-ti] (147–167)' (*Annals of Later Han Dynasty*, as translated by Prof. Legge in *India, What can it Teach us?*, p. 277).

[3] This statement is based upon the distribution of the coins.

southern Sind.[1] The conquered Indian provinces were administered by military viceroys, to whom apparently should be attributed the large issues of coins known to numismatists as those of the Nameless King. These pieces, mostly copper, but including a few in base silver, certainly are contemporary with Kadphises II, and are extremely common all over Northern India from the Kābul valley to Benares and Ghāzīpur on the Ganges, as well as in Kachh and Kāthiāwār.[2]

Roman influence. The Yueh-chi conquests opened up the path of commerce between the Roman empire and India. Kadphises I, who struck coins in bronze or copper only, imitated, after his conquest of Kābul, the coinage either of Augustus in his latter years, or the similar coinage of Tiberius (14 to 38 A. D.). When the Roman gold of the early emperors began to pour into India in payment for the silks, spices, gems, and dye-stuffs of the East, Kadphises II perceived the advantage of a gold currency, and struck an abundant issue of orientalized *aurei*, agreeing in weight with their prototypes, and not much inferior in purity. In Southern India, which, during the same period, maintained an active maritime trade with the Roman empire, the local kings did not attempt to copy the imperial *aurei*; which were themselves imported in large quantities, and used for currency purposes, just as English sovereigns now are in many parts of the world.

Embassy to Rome. The Indian embassy, which offered its congratulations to Trajan after his arrival in Rome in 99 A. D., probably was dispatched by Kadphises II to announce his conquest of North-Western India.[3]

[1] Parthian chiefs still ruled over the Indus delta at the end of the first century A.D. (*Periplus*, ch. 38).

[2] The proof that the Nameless King, Σωτὴρ Μέγας, was contemporary with Kadphises II is given in detail by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 71). The use of the participle ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ on the coins of the Nameless King seems to be an indication of his subordinate rank. His title is *Basileus basileuōn sōtēr megas*, whereas Kadphises II calls himself *basileus basileōn*, 'king of kings,' or, on the gold coins, simply *basileus*. The one silver coin of Kadphises II adds the epithet *megas*; the legends of the copper coins give him the title *sōtēr megas*.

[3] For weights and assays of Kushān coins, see Cunningham (*Coins Med. India*, p. 16). The opinions expressed by Von Sallet

The temporary annexation of Mesopotamia by Trajan in 116 A. D. brought the Roman frontier within six hundred miles of the western limits of the Yuch-chi empire. Although the province beyond the Euphrates was retroceded by Hadrian the year after its annexation, there can be no doubt that at this period the rulers of Northern and Western India were well acquainted with the fame and power of the great western empire, and were sensibly influenced by its example.

Duration of reign of Kadphises II.

The victorious reign of Kadphises II undoubtedly was prolonged, and may be supposed to have covered a space of thirty-five or forty years, from about 85 to 120 or 125 A. D.[1]

cir. 120 A. D. Kanishka acc.

Kadphises II was succeeded by Kanishka, who alone among the Kushān kings has left a name cherished by tradition, and famous far beyond the limits of India. His name, it is true, is unknown in Europe, save to a few students of unfamiliar lore, but it lives in the legends of Tibet, China, and Mongolia, and is scarcely less significant to the Buddhists of those lands than that of Asoka himself. Notwithstanding the widespread fame of Kanishka, his authentic history is scanty, and his chronological position strangely open to doubt. Unluckily no passage in the works

(*Nachfolger Alexanders*, pp. 56, 81) that the close resemblance between the heads of Kadphises I and Augustus is due to fortuitous coincidence, and that there is no reason to connect the weight of the Kushān coins with that of the imperial *aurei*, can only be regarded as a strange aberration of that distinguished numismatist. The one silver coin of Kadphises II which is known weighs 56½ grains, and thus agrees in weight, as Cunningham observed, with a Roman silver *denarius*. For an account of large finds of Roman coins in India, see Thurston, *Coin Catal. No. 2 of Madras Museum*; and, more fully, Sewell, 'Roman Coins found in India,' *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 591. The testimony of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xii, 18) to the drain of Roman gold in exchange for Indian, Arabian, and Chinese luxuries is well known:—'Minimaque computatione milies centena milia sestertiûm annis omnibus India et Seres peninsulaque illa imperio nostro adimunt. Tanto nobis deliciae et feminae constant. Quota enim portio ex illis ad deos quaeso iam uti ad inferos pertinet.' The embassy is mentioned by Dion Cassius, ix, 58.

[1] No definite proof of the length of this reign can be given, but the extent of the conquests made by Kadphises II and the large volume of his coinage are certain indications that his reign was protracted. Cunningham assigned it a duration of forty years.

of the accurate Chinese historians has yet been discovered which synchronizes him with any definite name or event in the well-ascertained history of the Middle Kingdom. The Chinese books which mention him are all, so far as is yet known, merely Buddhist works of edification, and not well adapted to serve as mines of historic fact. They are, in truth, as are the books of Tibet and Mongolia, translations or echoes of Indian tradition, and no student needs to be told how baffling are its vagaries. Kanishka and his proximate successors certainly are mentioned in an exceptionally large number of inscriptions, of which more than a score are dated; and it might be expected that this ample store of epigraphic material would set at rest all doubts, and establish beyond dispute the essential outlines of the Kushān chronology. But, unfortunately, the dates are recorded in such a fashion as to be open to most various interpretations, and eminent scholars are still to be found who place the accession of Kanishka in 57 B.C., as well as others who date that event in 278 A.D.[1]

His date.

I have no doubt whatever that the numismatic evidence alone—a class of evidence unduly depreciated by some historical students—proves conclusively that Kanishka lived at a time considerably later than the Christian era, subsequent to both Kadphises I and Kadphises II, and was exposed to the influence of the Roman empire. Many other lines of evidence, which are of great collective force when brought together, lead to the conclusion that Kanishka was the contemporary of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, and came to the throne about 120 or 125 A.D., directly succeeding Kadphises II.

Kanishka unquestionably belonged to the Kushān section of the Yueh-chi nation, as did the Kadphises kings, and there does not seem to be sufficient reason for believing that he was unconnected with them. The coins both of Kadphises II

[1] Dr. Fleet maintains the 57 or 58 B.C. date, and the Messrs. Bhandarkar have advocated the late date, 278. A full list of the dated inscriptions will be found in the author's paper on the Kushān period, cited *ante*, p. 234. For newly discovered records of the third year of Kanishka at Sārnāth near Benares, see *Ep. Ind.*, viii, 173.

and Kanishka frequently display in the field the same four-pronged symbol, and agree accurately in weight and fineness, besides exhibiting a very close relationship in the obverse devices. The inevitable inference is that the two kings were very near in time to one another—in fact, that one immediately followed the other. Now Kadphises II (Yen-kao-ching) was beyond doubt not only the successor, but the son of Kadphises I (Kieū-tsieū-k'io), who died at the age of eighty after a long reign. It is quite impossible to bring Kanishka into close association with Kadphises II, except on the generally admitted assumption that Kanishka was his immediate successor. Without further pursuing in detail a tedious archaeological argument, it will suffice to say here that ample reason can be shown for holding that the great majority of Indianists are right in placing the Kanishka group directly after that of the Kadphises kings. Our knowledge is so limited that difficulties remain, whatever theory be adopted, but the ordinary arrangement of the royal names appears to be strictly in accordance with the history of other nations, and with the phenomena of artistic, literary, and religious development.[1]

[1] Dr. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, 1905, 1906, various papers) and Dr. O. Franke, of Berlin (*Beiträge aus chinesischen Quellen zur Kenntniss der Turkvolker und Skythen Zentralasiens*, Berlin, 1904), are of opinion that Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva preceded the Kadphises kings, and that the Vikrama Era of 58–57 B.C. either marks the accession of Kanishka, or coincides with that event. I have carefully studied the publications of both the scholars named, and regret that I must continue to differ from them, and to hold that the Kadphises kings preceded Kanishka, who came to the throne about 120 A.D. Until recently it was difficult to grasp the arguments relied on by Dr. Fleet. His latest publication (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 1,048) makes it clear that he attaches much weight to a tradition that Kanishka lived 400 years after the death of Buddha, and to Dr. Franke's opinion. He further argues that his theory supplies a regular series of epigraphic dates, and that the absence of the Roman *II* from the coin legends of Huvishka indicates an early date for that king. The last two arguments cannot be discussed here, but I may note that another tradition places Kanishka 700 years after Buddha. Dr. Franke lays stress on the fact that Chinese historians, as distinguished from Buddhist writers, never mention Kanishka. But he himself sufficiently answers this argument by the remark that 'with the year 124 A.D. the source was dried up from which the chronicler could draw information concerning the peoples of Turkestan' (p. 71; see also p. 80). The other argument on which he relies is based on the well-known story telling how, in 2 B.C., a Yueh-chi king communicated certain

120–5 A.D. Extent of his Indian dominion.

Kanishka, then, may be assumed to have succeeded Kadphises II, to whom presumably he was related, in or about 120 or 125 A.D. Tradition and the monuments and inscriptions of his time prove that his sway, like that of his predecessor, extended all over North-Western India, probably as far south as the Vindhyas. His coins are found constantly associated with those of Kadphises II from Kābul to Ghāzīpur on the Ganges, and their vast number and variety indicate a reign of considerable length. His dominions included Upper Sind,[1] and his high reputation as a conqueror suggests the probability that he extended his power to the mouths of the Indus, and swept away, if they still existed, the petty Parthian princes who still ruled that region at the close of the first century A.D., but are heard no more of afterwards.

Conquest of Kashmīr.

He may be assumed to have completed the subjugation

Buddhist books to a Chinese official. The inference drawn is that the king in question must have been Kanishka. I admit the premise, that is to say, the fact that in the year 2 B.C. the king of the Yueh-chi knew and cared something about Buddhism; but I deny the conclusion drawn by Dr. Franke and M. Sylvain Lévi. There is no difficulty in devising better explanations of the admitted fact. Dr. Franke (p. 96) greatly underrates the power and influence of Kanishka. This misunderstanding appears to be due to the learned author's avowed indifference to Indian archaeological evidence (p. 100). It seems to me that no historical problem can be solved satisfactorily without a careful review of the evidence of all kinds, and that reasoning which shrinks from grappling with certain classes of facts cannot claim to be decisive.

I observe with pleasure that Dr. Franke (p. 73, note) and I are in agreement concerning the approximate date of the Kadphises kings, which Dr. Fleet also does not object to. There is thus a fair presumption that we all are right in this matter. I have learned so much from Dr. Franke's treatise that I should be glad, if it were possible, to be in complete agreement with him; but it is not possible. On the contrary, every addition that is made from time to time to the relevant facts, such as the recent discoveries in Khotan, confirm me in the opinion that my chronology is substantially right. Some of the reasons in support of it have been expressed or indicated in the text and notes, but limitations of space forbid the full discussion of the problem in this volume. I expect that before long the question will be settled by the discovery of decisive proof. As soon as that proof is produced the whole course of the early history of northern India will be made clear.

[1] Inscription at Suë Vihār, near Bahāwalpur, ed. Hoernle, *J. A.*, x, 324, dated in the year 11 in the reign of *mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra Kanishka*, on the 28th day of the month Daisios of the Macedonian calendar. That calendar might be used in connexion with any era, as it was used with the Pontic era of 297 B.C. by Pontic cities (*Num. Chron.*, 1905, p. 118).

and annexation of the secluded vale of Kashmīr, and certainly showed a marked preference for that delightful country, in which he erected numerous monuments, and founded a town, which, although now reduced to a petty village, still bears his honoured name.[1]

Tradition affirms that he carried his arms far into the interior, and attacked the king residing at the ancient imperial city of Pātaliputra. It is said that he carried off from that city a Buddhist saint named Asvaghosha. Comparison of the different versions of this story gives reason for accepting as true at least the bare fact that Kanishka and Asvaghosha were contemporaries.[2] Attack on Pāṭaliputra.

Kanishka's capital was Purushapura, the modern Peshāwar, the city, which then guarded, as it now does, the main road from the Afghan hills to the Indian plains. There, in his latter days, when he had become a fervent Buddhist, he erected a great relic tower, which seems to have deserved to rank among the wonders of the world. The superstructure of carved wood rose in thirteen stories to a height of at least four hundred feet, surmounted by a mighty iron pinnacle. When Song-yun, a Chinese pilgrim, His capital.

[1] Stein, *Rājat*, transl. bk. i, 168–72. Kanishkapura is now represented by the village of Kānispōr, 74° 28′ E. long., 34° 14′ N. lat., situated between the Vitastā (Bihat) river and the high road leading from Varāhamūla (Bārāmūla) to Śrīnagar.

[2] Chinese translation, made in 172 A.D., of a lost Sanskrit work called the *Śrī Dharmapitaka-sampradāya-nidāna* (?), in Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, p. 36. According to a Tibetan tradition, Kanishka sent a friendly invitation to Aśvaghosha, who, being unable to accept it on account of age and infirmities, sent his disciple Jñāna Yaśa in his stead (transl. of *Sumpāhi Ch'oijung* in *J. Buddhist Text Soc.*, 1893, part iii, p. 18). A variant version is given in Schiefner's *Tāranāth*, ch. xii; and another by Watters (ii, 104), who says that the saint was given to Ka-ni-ta (Kanishka perhaps), king of the Yue-ti, as part of a war indemnity. This king treated the bhikshu with much kindness and esteem, and Aśvaghosha continued his labours in his new place of abode in Kashmīr. Mr. Watters adds that 'this great Buddhist, who apparently lived in the second century of our era, was a poet, musician, scholar, religious controversialist, and zealous Buddhist monk, orthodox in creed, and a strict observer of discipline'. His history has an obvious bearing on the disputed Kushān chronology. Aśvaghosha was a pupil of Pārśva, who took a leading part in Kanishka's Council (*Watters*, i, 209). M. Foucher also holds, from 'le témoignage des bas-reliefs', that Aśvaghosha lived in the second century A. D. (*L'Art Gréco-bouddhique*, i, 623).

visited the spot at the beginning of the sixth century, this structure had been thrice destroyed by fire, and as often rebuilt by pious kings. A monastery of exceptional magnificence stood by its side. Faint traces of the substructures of these buildings may be discerned even now at the 'King's Mound' (*Shāhjī-kī-Dherī*) outside the Lahore gate of Peshāwar.[1] The monastery was still flourishing as a place of Buddhist education as late as the ninth or tenth century when Prince Vīra Deva of Magadha was sent there to benefit by the instruction of the resident teachers, who were famous for their piety.[2] The final demolition of this celebrated establishment undoubtedly was due to the Muhammadan invasions of Mahmūd of Ghaznī and his successors. Muslim zeal against idolatry was always excited to acts of destruction by the spectacle of the innumerable images with which Buddhist holy places were crowded.

Parthian war.

The ambition of Kanishka was not confined by the limits of India. He is alleged to have engaged in successful war with the Parthians, having been attacked by the king of that nation, who is described by the tradition as 'very stupid and with a violent temper'.[3] The prince referred to may be either Chosroes (Khusrū), or one of the rival kings who disputed the possession of the Parthian throne between 108 and 130 A.D.

Conquest of Kāshgar, Yārkand, and Khotan.

The most striking military exploit of Kanishka was his conquest of Kāshgar, Yārkand, and Khotan, extensive provinces of Chinese Turkestān lying to the north of Tibet and the east of the Pāmīrs, and at that time, as now, dependencies of China. Kadphises II, when he attempted the same

[1] For the topography of Gandhāra, the region around Peshāwar, the only trustworthy authority is M. Foucher's admirable treatise, *Notes sur la géographie ancienne du Gandhāra* (Hanoi, 1902). Tāranāth (*Schiefner*, ch. xiii, p. 62) mentions the neighbouring town of Pushkalāvatī as a royal residence of Kanishka's son. The fullest description of the great relic tower is that by Song-yun (Beal, *Records*, vol. i, p. ciii, and in M. Chavannes's recently published revised version, Hanoi, 1903). It is mentioned by Fa-hien (ch. xii) and Hiuen Tsang (bk. ii, *Beal*, i, 99; *Watters*, i, 204). Even so late as 1030 A.D. Alberūnī alludes to the *Kanik-chaitya* (Sachau, transl. ii, 11). The monastery is described by Hiuen Tsang (*Beal*, i, 103). The identification of the site is due to M. Foucher (op. cit., pp. 9-13, with view and plan).

[2] Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, ii, 89, quoting Ghosrāwa inscription in *J. A. S. B.*, 1849, i. 494.

[3] Lévi, op. cit., p. 40.

arduous adventure in 90 A. D., had failed ignominiously, and had been compelled to pay tribute to China. Kanishka, secure in the peaceful possession of India and Kashmīr, was better prepared to surmount the appalling difficulties of conveying an effective army across the passes of the Tāghdumbāsh Pāmīr, which no modern ruler of India would dare to face; and he had no longer General Pan-chao to oppose him. Where his predecessor had failed, Kanishka succeeded; and not only freed himself from the obligation of paying tribute to China, but exacted the surrender of hostages from a state tributary to the Chinese empire. The assertion made by one authority that the hostages included a son of the emperor of the Han dynasty does not appear to be worthy of belief. The territory of the ruler to whose family the hostages belonged seems to have been not very distant from Kāshgar.

The hostages.

These hostages were treated, as beseemed their princely rank, with the utmost consideration, and were assigned suitable residences at different Buddhist monasteries for each of the three seasons—the hot, the cold, and the rains. During the time of the summer heats, when the burning plains are not pleasant to live in, they enjoyed the cool breezes at a monastery named Sha-lo-ka, perhaps meaning 'the Kāshgar monastery', situated in the hills of Kapisa, the modern Kāfiristān, beyond Kābul, which was erected specially for their accommodation. During the spring and autumn, including the rainy season, they resided in Gandhāra, no doubt at the capital; while they spent the cold weather at an unidentified place in the eastern Panjāb, to which the name of Chīnabhukti, or 'the Chinese allotment', was given in consequence. They were reputed to have introduced the pear and peach, previously unknown in that part of India, during their residence at Chīnabhukti. One of their number, before returning home, deposited a rich store of gold and jewels for the endowment of the Kapisa establishment, and they all continued to recognize the generosity with which they had been treated by remitting offerings for the benefit of the brethren. The grateful monks adorned their walls with paintings representing their guests, who are said to have been

somewhat like Chinamen in appearance and dress. When Hiuen Tsang resided at the Kapisa monastery, during the rainy season of 630 A. D., he found that his hosts still cherished the memory of their benefactors, and celebrated services in their honour. He stayed for fourteen months in 633–4 A. D. at the hostages' monastery in Chīnabhukti.[1]

Story of the treasure.

The biographer of Hiuen Tsang tells a curious story about the treasure deposited by the hostage as an endowment for the Sha-lo-ka shrine at Kapisa; which was known to be buried under the feet of the image of Vaisravana, the Great Spirit King, at the south side of the eastern gate of the hall of Buddha. An impious Rāja who had tried to appropriate the hoard was frightened away by portents which seemed to indicate the displeasure of its guardian spirit, and when the monks endeavoured to make use of it for the purpose of repairing the shrine, in accordance with the donor's intention, they, too, were terrified by similar manifestations.

While Hiuen Tsang was lodging at the shrine during the rainy season of 630 A. D., the monks besought him to use his influence with the spirit to obtain permission to expend the treasure on urgently needed repairs of the steeple. The pilgrim complied, burned incense, and duly assured the guardian spirit that no waste or misappropriation would be permitted. The workmen who were set to dig up the spot then suffered no molestation, and at a depth of seven or eight feet found a great copper vessel containing several hundredweight of gold and a quantity of pearls.[2] The balance of the treasure left after the repairs to the steeple has doubtless been appropriated long since by excavators less scrupulous than the pious Master of the Law.

Echoes of Asoka legends.

The stories told about Kanishka's conversion and his subsequent zeal for Buddhism have so much resemblance to the Asoka legends that it is difficult to decide how far they are traditions of actual fact, and how far merely echoes of an older tradition. The Yueh-chi monarch did not record

[1] See Appendix L.

[2] 'Several hundred *catties* of gold, and several scores of pearls' (*Beal*). The catty is a Chinese weight equal to about 1⅓ lb. avoirdupois.

passages from his autobiography as Asoka did, and when we are informed in the pages of a pious tract that his conversion was due to remorse for the blood shed during his wars, it is impossible to check the statement.[1] Probably it is merely an echo of the story of Asoka, as told by himself.

The conversion of Kanishka.

Just as the writers of edifying books sought to enhance the glory of Asoka's conversion to the creed of the mild Sākya sage by blood-curdling tales of his fiendish cruelty during the days of his unbelief, so Kanishka was alleged to have had no faith either in right or wrong, and to have lightly esteemed the law of Buddha during his earlier life.[2] The most authentic evidence on the subject of his changes of faith is afforded by the long and varied series of his coins, which, like all ancient coinages, reflect the religious ideas of the monarch in whose name they were struck. The finest, and presumably the earliest, pieces bear legends, Greek in both script and language, with effigies of the sun and moon personified under their Greek names, Hēlios and Selēnē.[3] On later issues the Greek script is retained, but the language is a form of old Persian, while the deities depicted are a strange medley of the gods worshipped by Greeks, Persians, and Indians.[4] The rare coins exhibiting images of Buddha Sākyamuni with his name in Greek letters are usually considered to be among the latest of the reign, but they are well executed, and may be earlier in date than is generally supposed.[5] It is impossible to fix the exact date of Kanishka's conversion, but the event evidently did not occur until he had been for some years on the throne.

[1] 'Comme il avait en maintes occasions tué à la guerre plus de trois cent mille hommes, il sentit que sa faute devait être infailliblement punie dans l'avenir. Il fut pris au cœur d'angoisse; aussitôt il confessa sa faute, se repentit, fit la charité, observa les défenses, fit élever un monastère et donner de la nourriture aux moines' (*Conte* 16, *Saṁyukta-ratnapiṭaka*, in Lévi, *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes*, p. 34). The *Notes*, revised by the author, have been translated by Mr. Philipps in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 381; 1904, p. 10.

[2] Beal, *Records*, i, 99.

[3] Spelt Salēnē on the coins.

[4] Besides the technical numismatic works, see Dr. Stein's remarkable paper on 'Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins' (*Or. and Babyl. Record*, August, 1887).

[5] Von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 195.

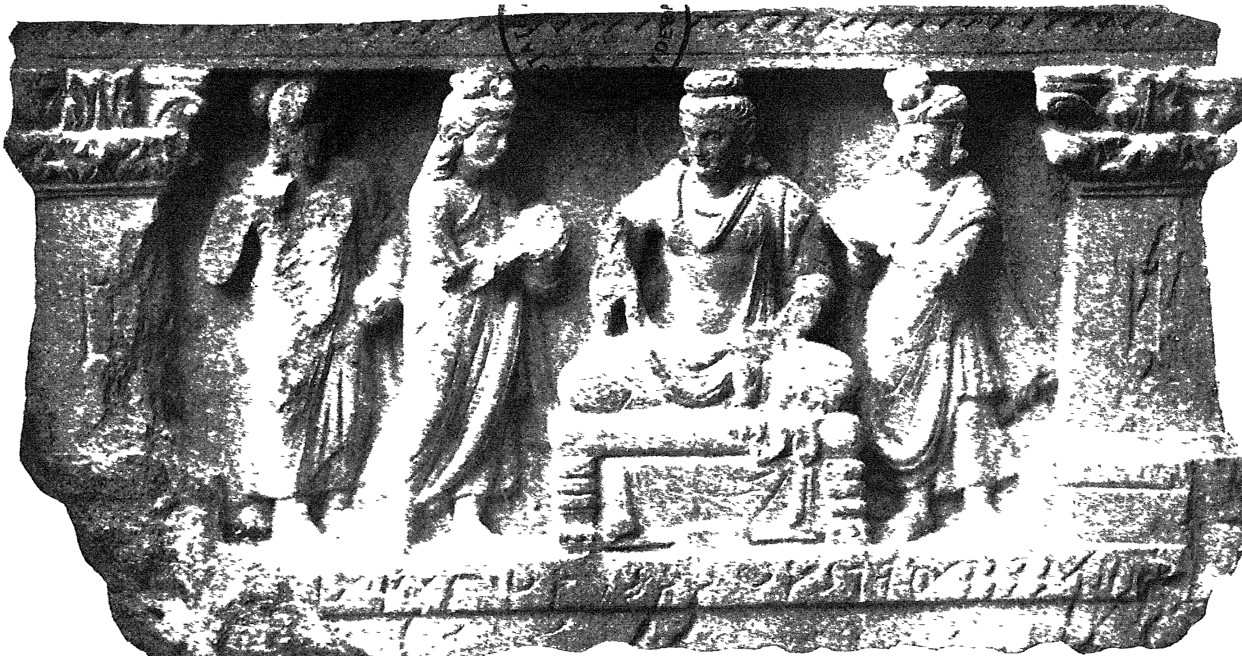
Buddha as a deity.

The appearance of the Buddha among a crowd of heterogeneous deities would have appeared strange, in fact would have been inconceivable to Asoka, while it seemed quite natural to Kanishka. The newer Buddhism of his day, designated as the Mahāyāna, or Great Vehicle, was largely of foreign origin, and its development was the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic, and Hellenic elements, which had been made possible by the conquests of Alexander, the formation of the Maurya empire in India, and, above all, by the unification of the Roman world under the sway of the earlier emperors. In this newer Buddhism the sage Gautama became in practice, if not in theory, a god, with his ears open to the prayers of the faithful, and served by a hierarchy of Bodhisattvas and other beings acting as mediators between him and sinful men. Such a Buddha rightly took a place among the gods of the nations comprised in Kanishka's widespread empire, and the monarch, even after his 'conversion', probably continued to honour both the old and the new gods, as, in a later age, Harsha did alternate reverence to Siva and Buddha.

Gāndhāra sculptures.

The celebrated Gāndhāra sculptures, found abundantly in the Peshāwar district and neighbouring regions, the ancient Gandhāra, of which the best examples date from the time of Kanishka and his proximate successors, give vivid expression in classical forms of considerable artistic merit to this modified Buddhism, a religion with a complicated mythology and well-filled pantheon.[1] The florid Corinthian capitals and many other characteristic features of the style prove that the Gāndhāra school was merely a branch of the cosmopolitan Graeco-Roman art of the early empire. The most competent critics are now generally agreed that the school reached its highest point of development in the second century of the Christian era.

[1] This fact, which was not recognized until recently, has been established by Prof. Grunwedel and M. Foucher. The sculptures include innumerable figures of Bodhisattvas. The leading authority on the subject is M. Foucher's masterly work, *L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, of which the first volume (639 pp.) appeared in 1905. The second volume has not been published.



INSCRIBED BUDDHIST PEDESTAL FROM HASHTNAGAR, DATED 384

In Buddhist ecclesiastical history the reign of Kanishka is specially celebrated for the convocation of a council, organized on the model of that supposed to have been summoned by Asoka. Kanishka's council, which is ignored by the Ceylonese chroniclers, who probably never heard of it, is known only from the traditions of Northern India, as preserved by Tibetan, Chinese, and Mongolian writers. The accounts of this assembly, like those of the earlier councils, are discrepant, and the details are obviously legendary. Buddhist council.

Kanishka, we are told, studied the Buddhist scriptures in his leisure hours under the guidance of a monk, who attended daily at the palace to give him instruction. The king, becoming hopelessly puzzled by the conflicting doctrines of the various sects or schools, suggested to his adviser, the Venerable Pārsva, that it would be well to obtain an authoritative exposition of the truth. Pārsva gave his cordial approval to the suggestion, and arrangements were made accordingly for a general assembly of theologians. As a matter of fact, however, all the learned men assembled seem to have belonged to a single school, the Sarvāstivādins of the Hīnayāna, or Little Vehicle. The first question demanding settlement was that of the place of meeting. The king proposed his capital in Gandhāra, but objection was taken to the hot, damp climate. Somebody then suggested Rājagriha, in Magadha, where the first Council was reputed to have met. Ultimately it was decided to convoke the assembly in the pleasant climate of Kashmīr, at a monastery named Kundalavana, near the capital of that country. Vasumitra was elected president, and Asvaghosha, the famous author, who, according to the story, had been carried off from Pātaliputra, was appointed vice-president. The members, 500 in number, devoted themselves to a thorough examination of theological literature from the most remote antiquity, and elaborated huge commentaries on the three main divisions of the Canon. The works so prepared included the *Mahāvibhāshā*, which still exists in Chinese, and is described as being an encyclopaedia of Buddhist philosophy. Dr. Takakusu, a highly competent authority,

is of opinion that until this work shall have been made accessible to scholars; it will be vain to argue about the Council of Kashmīr or its works. When the labours of the assembly were completed, the commentaries were copied on sheets of copper, which were deposited in a *stūpa* built for this purpose by order of king Kanishka. It is possible that these precious records may still exist buried under some mound near Srīnagar, and that a lucky chance may reveal them. After the conclusion of the business of the Council, Kanishka renewed Asoka's donation of the kingdom of Kashmīr to the Church, and went home through the Bārāmūla Pass.[1]

[1] Hiuen Tsang, the leading authority (*Beal*, i, 117, 151; *Watters*, i, pp. 270-8; Takakusu's review of Watters, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 414), states that the council was convened in Kashmīr under the presidency of Vasumitra, by Kanishka, king of Gandhāra, acting on the advice of Pārśva or Pārśvika. Paramārtha (499–569 A.D.), in his biography of Vasubandhu (*cir.* 420-500 A.D.), gives an independent account of the council as having been held in Kashmīr at some time in the sixth century after the Nirvāna. He does not name king Kanishka, and ascribes the summoning of the assembly to Kātyāyanīputra. According to him, Aśvaghosha was invited from Sāketa in the Śrāvastī province for the purpose of applying his well-known literary skill to the redaction of the commentaries drafted by the council (Takakusu, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 52).

Vasumitra's work, *Mahāvibhāshā Śāstra* (No. 1263 of Nanjio's Catal.), ascribed to the time of Kanishka, was an elaborate commentary on the *Jñānaprasthāna Śāstra*, the fundamental work of the Sarvāstivādin school (Takakusu; I-tsing, *Buddhist Practices*, p. xxi).

The Mongolians represent the council as engaged in the collection of the sayings of Buddha. It met at Jālandhar, which was in Kashmīr, according to the *Śāstra Chingola kereglegchi*, and in the kingdom of Gatchiin Kunasana, according to the history of Sanang Setsen (Klaproth, in Laidlay's *Fa-hian*, p. 249).

The Tibetan *Kā-gyur* represents the work of the council as being the third compilation of the doctrine of Buddha (Csoma Korosi, *As. Res.*, vol. xx, quoted in *Eastern Monachism*, p. 188). Wassiljew (*Schiefner*, p. 298) observes that the *Bu-ston* refuses to acknowledge Kanishka's council; that the *Tangyur* describes the council in 400 *anno Buddhae* (one of the traditional dates of Kanishka), as having been led by Vatsiputra, and devoted to the doctrines of his school; while a Chinese account locates the assembly at Kandahār.

Tāranāth notes that some authors aver that the council met in the Kundalavana Vihāra in Kashmīr, while others locate it in the Kuvana monastery at Jālandhar; observing that the balance of authority favours the latter view. But the evidence, as it now stands, proves clearly that the council met in Kashmīr. Hiuen Tsang, when describing his visit to Jālandhar (*Beal*, i, 175; *Watters*, i, 296) makes no allusion to the council. The fact that in some books Kanishka is called the king of Jālandhar may have given rise to the belief that the council met at that city. The council, according to Tāranāth, settled the strife between the eighteen schools, which were all recognized as orthodox; and the three *piṭakas* were now

The legends published by M. Sylvain Lévi include a strange tale professing to relate the end of Kanishka, which possibly may be founded on fact.

Legend of Kanishka's death.

'The king,' so runs the story, 'had a minister named Māthara, of unusual intelligence. He addressed Kanishka in these words: "Sire, if you wish to follow the advice of your servant, your power will assuredly bring the whole world into subjection. All will submit to you, and the eight regions will take refuge in your merit. Think over what your servant has said, but do not divulge it." The king replied: "Very well, it shall be as you say." Then the minister called together the able generals and equipped a force of the four arms. Wherever the king turned, all men bowed before him like herbage under hail. The peoples of three regions came in to make their submission; under the hoofs of the horse ridden by king Kanishka everything either bent or broke. The king said: "I have subjugated three regions; all men have taken refuge with me; the region of the north alone has not come in to make its submission. If I subjugate it, I shall never again take advantage of an opportunity against any one, be he who he may, but I do not yet know the best way to succeed in this undertaking." The king's people, having heard these words, took counsel together, and said: "The king is greedy, cruel, and unreasonable; his campaigns and continued conquests have wearied the mass of his servants. He knows not how to be content, but wants to reign over the four quarters. The garrisons are stationed on distant frontiers, and our relatives are far from us. Such being the situation, we must agree among ourselves, and get rid of him, After that we may be happy." As he was ill, they covered him with a quilt, a man sat on top of him, and the king died on the spot.'[1]

The reign of Kanishka appears to have lasted some twenty-five or thirty years, and may be assumed to have terminated about 150 A. D., or a little earlier.

either for the first time reduced to writing, or, so far as previously written, were purified from error. All kinds of Mahāyāna texts appeared about this time (*Schiefner*, p. 58).

For criticism of the legends of the earlier councils see the author's paper, 'The Identity of Piyadasi with Asoka Maurya, and some connected Problems' (*J. R. A. S.*, Oct., 1901). For the meaning of *Kundala* in Kashmīrī local names, see Stein, transl. *Rājatar.*, bk. v, v. 106.

[1] *Śrī-Dharma-piṭaka*, &c., in *Notes*, p. 43; and an English version in *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, p. 388.

Huvishka. Very little is known about the successors of Kanishka. He was followed immediately by Huvishka, or Hushka, who probably was his son, and appears to have retained undiminished the great empire to which he succeeded. His dominions certainly included Kābul,[1] Kashmīr, Gayā,[2] and Mathurā. At the last-named city, a splendid Buddhist monastery bore his name, and no doubt owed its existence to his munificence;[3] for, like Kanishka, he was a liberal patron of Buddhist ecclesiastical institutions. But he also resembled his more famous predecessor in an eclectic taste for a strange medley of Greek, Indian, and Persian deities. The types on the coins of Huvishka include Herakles, Sarapis, Skanda with his son Visākha, Pharro, the fire-god, and many others, but the figure and name of Buddha are wanting. It would seem that the Buddhist convictions of these old Turkish kings were not very deeply seated, and it is probably justifiable to hold that the royal favour was granted to the powerful monastic organization of the Buddhists as much as to their creed. No prudent monarch in those days could afford to neglect the wealthy and influential order, which had spread its ramifications all over the empire.

Hushka-pura. The town of Hushkapura, founded by Huvishka in Kashmīr, occupied a position of exceptional importance just inside the Bārāmūla Pass, then known as the 'western gate' of the valley, and continued for centuries to be a place of note. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kashmīr about 631 A. D., he enjoyed the liberal hospitality of the Hushkapura monastery for several days, and was escorted thence with all honour to the capital, where he found numerous religious institutions, attended by some five thousand monks. The town of Hushkapura is now represented by the small village of Ushkür, at which the ruins of an ancient *stūpa* are visible.[4]

Length of reign. The reign of Huvishka undoubtedly was prolonged, but

[1] Inscription on vase from Wardak, thirty miles west from Kābul (Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, ii, 67: Prinsep's *Essays*, ed. Thomas, i, 162; Pl. X).

[2] Inscription dated 64 on statue of Buddha, apparently associated with a medal of Huvishka (Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.* xvi, p. iv; *Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 49).

[3] Cunningham. *Arch Rep.* i, 238.

[4] Stein, *Rājatar*, transl. bk. i, v. 168; vol. ii, p. 483; Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 68.

all memory of its political events has perished. His abundant coinage is even more varied than that of Kanishka, with which it is constantly associated, and, like the contemporary sculpture, testifies to the continuance of Hellenistic influence. A few specimens of the gold coinage present well executed and characteristic portraits of the king, who was a determined-looking man, with strongly-marked features, large, deep-set eyes, and aquiline nose.[1] So far as appears, the Kushān power suffered no diminution during his reign.[2]

Reign of Vāsudeva.

Huvishka was succeeded by Vāsudeva, whose thoroughly Indian name, a synonym for Vishnu, is a proof of the rapidity with which the foreign invaders had succumbed to the influence of their environment.[3] Testimony to the

[1] Gardner, *B. M. Catal. Greek and Indo-Scythic Kings*, Pl. XXVII, 9, XXVIII, 9.

[2] The text of the Kashmīr chronicle (loc. cit.) is as follows :—'Then there were in this land three kings called Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka, who built three towns named after them. That wise king Jushka, who built Jushkapura with its Vihāra, was also the founder of Jayasvāmipura [not identified]. These kings, who were given to acts of piety, though descended from the Turushka race, built at Śushkaletra and other places *mathas*, *chaityas*, and similar [structures].' Vāsushka (? Vāsashka or Vāsishka), mentioned in an inscription found at Sāñchi in Central India, usually is identified with Jushka of the chronicle and Vāsudeva or Vasudeva of the coins and Mathurā inscriptions. But Dr. Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 329, 1905, p. 357), maintains that Vāsashka is an unrecognized king, who ought to be interpolated either between Kanishka and Huvishka, or after the latter king. Neither hypothesis is supported by any solid argument, and the numismatic facts appear to be fatal to Dr. Fleet's contention. The coins of Kadphises II, Kanishka and Huvishka are extremely abundant from Kābul to Patna, and all three are often found associated, as in the Gopālpur *stūpa* in the Gōrakhpur district (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, p. 100); Cunningham's Benares hoard of 163 coins (Prinsep's *Essays*, i, 227 note); and Masson's collections from Beghrām, twenty-five miles from Kābul (ibid. pp. 344, 351). This association strongly confirms the ordinary arrangement of the kings; for if Vāsashka came either between Kanishka and Huvishka, or after the latter, his coins must have been found before now. The Kushān coins, which are perfectly legible and readily identified, have been known for some seventy years, and if Vāsashka had an independent existence it is inconceivable either that he should not have struck coins, or that coins struck by him should not have been found and recognized. The suggestion that Vāsashka succeeded Huvishka was made by Dr. Fleet only when the other hypothesis broke down. I cannot find any sound reason for distinguishing Vāsashka or Vāsushka from Vāsudeva.

[3] His alternative name of Vāsishka (? Vāsushka or Vāsashka) is an attempt to express his real Turkī name in Indian letters. So Huvishka takes the optional forms of Hushka or Huksha in inscriptions, besides other varieties in the coin legends, which are in Greek

same fact is borne by his coins, almost all of which exhibit on the reverse the figure of the Indian god Siva, attended by his bull Nandi, and accompanied by the noose, trident, and other insignia of Hindu iconography. The inscriptions of Vāsudeva, mostly found at Mathurā, certainly range in date from the year 74 to the year 98 of the era used in the Kushān age, and indicate a reign of not less than twenty-five years. If the Sānchi inscription bears the date 68, the reign would have lasted about thirty-five years.

Decay of Kushān power.

It is evident that the Kushān power must have been decadent during the latter part of the long reign of Vāsudeva; and apparently before its close, or immediately after that event, the vast empire of Kanishka obeyed the usual law governing Oriental monarchies, and broke up into fragments, having enjoyed a brief period of splendid unity. Coins bearing the name of Vāsudeva continued to be struck long after he had passed away, and ultimately present the royal figure clad in the garb of Persia, and manifestly imitated from the effigy of Sapor (Shāhpur) I, the Sassanian monarch who ruled Persia from 238 to 269 A. D.[1]

Sassanian influence on India.

Absolutely nothing positive is known concerning the means by which this renewed Persian influence, as proved by numismatic facts, made itself felt in the interior of India. Bahrām (Varahrān) II is known to have conducted a campaign in Sīstān, at some time between 277 and 294; but there is no record of any Sassanian invasion of India in the third century, during which period all the ordinary sources of historical information dry up. No inscriptions certainly referable to that time have been discovered, and the coinage, issued by merely local rulers, gives hardly any help. Certain it is that two great paramount dynasties, the Kushān in Northern India, and the Āndhra in the tableland of the Deccan, disappear together almost at the moment when the Arsakidan dynasty of Persia was superseded by the Sassanian. It is impossible to avoid hazarding the conjecture that the three

characters. Similar difficulties of transliteration are constantly felt now.

[1] Von Sallet, *Nachfolger*, p. 63. *Catal. of Coins in I. M.*, vol. i, pp. 63–92.

events may have been in some way connected, and that the persianizing of the Kushān coinage of Northern India should be explained by the occurrence of an unrecorded Persian invasion. But the conjecture is unsupported by direct evidence; and the invasion, if it really took place, would seem to have been the work of predatory tribes subject to Iranian influence, rather than a regular attack by a Persian king.

Foreign invasions

So much, however, is clear that Vāsudeva was the last Kushān king who continued to hold extensive territories in India. After his death there is no indication of the existence of a paramount power in Northern India. Probably numerous Rājas asserted their independence and formed a number of short-lived states, such as commonly arise from the ruins of a great Oriental monarchy; but historical material for the third century is so completely lacking that it is impossible to say what or how many those states were. The period evidently was one of extreme confusion associated with foreign invasions from the north-west, which is reflected in the muddled statements of the *Vishnu Purāna* concerning the Abhīras, Gardabhilas, Sakas, Yavanas, Bāhlīkas, and other outlandish dynasties named as the successors of the Āndhras. The dynasties thus enumerated clearly were to a large extent contemporary with one another, not consecutive, and none of them could claim paramount rank. It seems to be quite hopeless to attempt to reduce to order the Purānic accounts of this anarchical period, and nothing would be gained by quoting a long list of names, the very forms of which are uncertain.

Kushān kings of Kābul and Panjāb.

Coins indicate that the Kushāns held their own in the Panjāb and Kābul for a long time. It is certain that the Kushān kings of Kābul continued to be a considerable power until the fifth century, when they were overthrown by the White Huns. At the beginning of the fourth century one of them gave a daughter in marriage to Hormazd II, the Sassanian king of Persia; and when Sapor II besieged Amida in 360 A. D., his victory over the Roman garrison was won with the aid of Indian elephants and Kushān troops under the command of their aged king Grumbates, who

occupied the place of honour, and was supported by the Sakas of Sīstān.[1]

Subordinate chiefs.

It is difficult to judge how far the foreign chiefs who ruled the Panjāb during the third century, and struck coins similar to those of Vāsudeva, yet with a difference, were Kushāns, and how far they belonged to other Asiatic tribes. The marginal legends of the coins of this class, which are written in a modified Greek script, preserve the name of either Kanishka or Vasu[deva] Kushān,[2] King of Kings, and so recognize the Kushān supremacy; but the name in Indian letters, placed by the side of the spear, is frequently monosyllabic, like a Chinese name, *Bha*, *Ga*, *Vi*, and so forth. These monosyllabic names seem to belong to chiefs of various Central Asian tribes who invaded India and acknowledged the supremacy of the Kushān or Shāhi kings of Kābul. One coin with the modified Kushān obverse, and the names *Bashana*, *Nu*, *Pakaldhi* (?) in Indian Brāhmī characters in various parts of the field, has on the reverse a fire-altar of the type found on the coins of the earliest Sassanian kings. It is thus clear that in some way or other, during the third century, the Panjāb renewed its ancient connexion with Persia.[3]

Blank in history of interior India.

Nothing definite is recorded concerning the dynasties of Northern India, excluding the Panjāb, during the third century, and the early part of the fourth. The imperial city of Pātaliputra is known to have continued to be a place of importance as late as the fifth century, but there is not even the slightest indication of the nature of the dynasty which ruled there during the third. The only intelligible dynastic list for the

[1] Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1893, pp. 169–77; who seems to be right in identifying the Chionitai of Ammianus Marcellinus with the Kushāns; Drouin, 'Monnaies des Grands Kouchans,' in *Rev. Num.*, 1896, p. 163. Gibbon (ch. xix) gives 360 A.D. as the date of the siege of Amida on the Tigris, the modern Diarbekir. Other authorities prefer 358 or 359.

[2] The coins usually have *Vasu*, not *Vāsu*.

[3] For a list of the names see V. A. Smith, 'History and Coinage of the Gupta Period,' in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxiii, part i, p. 180; and for the Bashana coin, 'Numismatic Notes and Novelties,' ibid., vol. lxvi, part i, p. 5. M. Drouin (*Rev. Num.*, 1898, p. 140) points out that the form of the altar is that found on the coins of Ardashīr, the first Sassanian king (225 or 226–41), as well as on those of some of his successors.

period is that of the Saka satraps of Western India, whose history will be more conveniently noticed in the next chapter in connexion with that of the Gupta emperors. The period between the extinction of the Kushān and Āndhra dynasties, about 220 or 230 A.D., and the rise of the imperial Gupta dynasty, nearly a century later, is one of the darkest in the whole range of Indian history.

APPROXIMATE KUSHAN CHRONOLOGY

Date.	*Event.*
B.C.	
174	Death of Hiung-nū chief, Moduk.
c. 170 [1]	Expulsion of main body of Yueh-chi horde from Kan-suh by the Hiung-nū.
c. 163	Nan-tiu-mi, chief of the Wu-sun, killed by the Yueh-chi.
160	Death of Hiung-nū chief, Ki-yuk.
c. 160–50	Yueh-chi occupation of the Śaka territory; Śaka migration.
c. 150–140	Śaka invasion of India.
c. 140	Expulsion of Yueh-chi from Śaka territory by Koen-muo, the young Wu-sun chief, son of Nan-tiu-mi.
c. 138	Reduction of the Ta-hai, both north and south of the Oxus, to vassalage by the Yueh-chi, who begin to settle down.
c. 135	Dispatch by Chinese emperor Wu-ti of Chang-k'ien as envoy to the Yueh-chi.
c. 125	Arrival of Chang-k'ien at Yueh-chi head-quarters, north of the Oxus.
c. 122	Return of Chang-k'ien to China.
c. 114	Death of Chang-k'ien.
c. 70	Extension of Yueh-chi settlements to the lands south of the Oxus; occupation of Ta-hia capital, Lan-sheu, south of the river, probably = Balkh.
c. 65	**Formation of five Yueh-chi principalities, including Kushān and Bāmiān.**
58–57	Epoch of the Mālava or Vikrama era.
c. 26	Indian embassy to Augustus.
2	A Chinese official instructed in Buddhist books by a Yueh-chi king. (*See* Franke, *Türkvölker*, p. 92 n.)
A.D.	
8	Temporary cessation of intercourse between China and the West.
14	Augustus, Roman emperor, died; Tiberius acc.
23	End of First, or Early Han dynasty of China.
38	Gaius (Caligula), Roman emperor, acc.
41	Claudius, Roman emperor, acc.
c. 45	**Kadphises I Kushān** (Kieū-tsieū-k'io, Kozolakadaphes, &c.) acc.
c. 45–60	**Consolidation of the five Yueh-chi principalities into Kushān Empire under Kadphises I**; conquest by him of Kābul (Kao-fū), ? Bactria (Po-ta) (see note below), and ? Kashmīr (Ki-pin); Hermaios, Greek king in Kābul and Pānjab, contemporary.
54	Nero, Roman emperor, acc.
c. 64	Buddhist books sent for by Chinese emperor, Ming-ti.
68, 69	Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, Roman emperors.
70	Vespasian, Roman emperor (acc. Dec. 22, 69).
77	Publication of Pliny's *Natural History*.
78	Epoch of the Śaka or Salivāhana era.
79	Titus, Roman emperor, acc.
81	Domitian, Roman emperor, acc.

[1] M. Chavannes places this event 'about 140 B.C.' If he is right, the next five dates must be modified. Dr. Franke suggests a third date, between 174 and 160 B.C., but nearer the former (*Türkvölker*, p. 55). No authority exists for Klaproth's precise date 165. The dates marked *c.* are merely rough approximations.

Date.	Event.
A. D.	
c. 85	**Death of Kadphises I, at age of 80; Kadphises II, his son, acc.** (= Yen-kao-ching, Hima Kadphises, &c.); the 'Nameless King', *Sotēr Megas*, contemporary and subordinate.
90	Kadphises II defeated by Chinese general Pan-ch'ao, and compelled to pay tribute to China.
c. 90–100	**Annexation of Northern India, and destruction of Indo-Parthian power in the Panjāb by Kadphises II.**
96	Nerva, Roman emperor, acc.
98	Trajan, Roman emperor, acc.
99	Arrival of Trajan in Rome.
105	Overthrow by the Romans of the Nabataean kingdom of Petra in Arabia; rise of Palmyra; Indian embassy to Trajan about this time.
116	Conquest of Mesopotamia by Trajan.
117	Hadrian, Roman emperor, acc.; retrocession of Mesopotamia.
123–6	Residence of Hadrian at Athens.
c. 123	**Kanishka Kushān, acc.**
c. 125–30	**Conquest by Kanishka of Kāshgar, Yārkand, and Khotan;**[1] war with king of Pātaliputra.
131–6	War of Hadrian with the Jews.
c. 135	Conversion of Kanishka to Buddhism.
138	Antoninus Pius, Roman emperor, acc.
c. 140	**Buddhist Council in Kashmīr.**
c. 150	Jūnāgarh inscription of Rudradāman, Western satrap.
151 or 152	**Huvishka (Hushka) Kushān, acc.**
161	Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Roman emperor, acc.
162–5	Defeat of Parthian king, Vologeses III, by the Romans.
175	Eastern campaign of Marcus Aurelius.
180	Commodus, Roman emperor, acc.
c. 185	**Vāsudeva Kushān, acc.**
192, 193	Pertinax and Julianus, Roman emperors.
193	Septimius Severus, Roman emperor, acc.
c. 200	Palmyra created a Roman colony.
211	Caracalla, Roman emperor, acc.
216	Parthian expedition of Caracalla.
217	Macrinus, Roman emperor, acc.
218	Elagabalus, Roman emperor, acc.
222	Alexander Severus, Roman emperor, acc.
226	Foundation of Sassanian empire of Persia by Ardashīr; **the death of Vāsudeva, the collapse of the Kushān power in India,** and the termination of the Āndhra dynasty occurred at nearly the same time.
260	Defeat of Valerian, Roman emperor, by Sapor I.
273	Capture of Palmyra by Aurelian.
360	Successful siege of Amida by Sapor II, with Kushān help.

[1] The true date possibly may be later; for, according to Dr. Franke, China lost Khotan in 152 A. D. Kanishka is not mentioned by name in the Chinese histories.

Dr. Franke (*Beiträge*, p. 99 n.) considers as doubtful the current identification of Po-ta (P'u-ta, Cantonese Pok-tiu) with Bactria, and suggests as the true equivalent the 'Paktyan land' (Πακτυικὴ γῆ), which he places to the north of Arachosia. See *ante*, p. 35 n.

APPENDIX L

The so-called 'Chinese hostages' of Kanishka.

The story of the hostages, who are sometimes inaccurately styled 'Chinese' (e.g. Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.*, p. 202), has provoked so much comment and difference of opinion that the statements in the text, which differ from those made in the first edition of this book, require justification. The necessary discussion cannot be compressed conveniently within the limits of a footnote. The story is told twice by Hiuen Tsang himself, the first time in relation to Kapiśa, or Kāfiristān (Beal, *Records*, i, 56; *Watters*, i, 124; Franke, *Türkvölker*, p. 80); and the second time in relation to Chi-na-pûh-ti, or Chīnabhukti (*Beal*, i, 173; *Watters*, i, 292; Franke, op. cit., p. 81). The biographer of the pilgrim gives the tale in a variant and much briefer form (Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 54; Franke, op. cit., p. 83). All the translations of the passages in the *Records* agree substantially, except that Watters makes the Chīnabhukti version refer to a single hostage, while Beal and Franke agree in interpreting the text as mentioning 'hostages' in the plural. Watters alone gives the correct transcription *Chīnabhukti*. Minor variations in the versions do not affect the question of the credibility of the story. The name of the monastery occupied by the hostages at Kapiśa is given as *Jen-kia-lan* (*v. l.* Ta-kia-lan) by Julien (whom Franke follows); but Beal notes that in the copy used by him this name was wanting. The *Life* gives the name of the same monastery as *Sha-lo-ka* or *Sha-lo-kia*.

Subject to the above comments, I use Watters's translations of the two passages in the *Records of the Western World* and Beal's rendering of the passage in the *Life*.

The first mention of the subject by Hiuen Tsang is made in the course of an explanation of the origin of the Hīnayāna monastery near the capital of Kapiśa, a country in which most of the monks were Mahāyānists.

'About three or four *li* east of the capital,' we are told, 'under the east mountain, was a large monastery with above 300 brethren, all Hīnayānists. Its history, the pilgrim learned, was this: When Kanishka reigned in Gandhāra his power reached the neighbouring States, and his influence extended to distant regions. As he kept order by military rule over a wide territory, reaching to the east of the Tsung-Ling, a tributary State of China to the west of the Yellow river, through fear of the king's power, sent him [princes as] hostages. On the arrival of the hostages Kanishka treated them with great courtesy, and provided them with different residences according to the seasons. The winter was spent in India, the summer in Kapis, and the spring and autumn in Gandhāra. At each residence a monastery was erected, this one being

at the summer residence. Hence the walls of the chambers had paintings of the hostages, who in appearance and dress were somewhat like the Chinese. When the hostages returned to their homes they fondly remembered their residence here, and continued to send it religious offerings. So the brethren of this monastery, with grateful feelings, had kept up religious services on behalf of the hostages every year at the beginning and end of the Rain-season Retreat.'

The tale of the buried treasure follows (*Watters*, i, 124). We are also informed that the hostages had practised *Samādhi*, or ascetic meditation, in certain caves situated among the mountains to the north of the monastery

The tradition concerning the hostage or hostages, as heard at Chīnabhukti, in the Panjāb, was nearly identical with that preserved at the capital of Kapiśa. The pilgrim states that

'When Kanishka was reigning the fear of his name spread to many regions, so far even as to the outlying vassals of China to the west of the Yellow river. One of these vassal States, being in fear, sent a hostage to the court of King Kanishka [the hostage being apparently a son of the ruler of the State]. The king treated the hostage with great kindness and consideration, allowing him a separate residence for each of the three seasons, and providing him with a guard of the four kinds of soldiers. This district was assigned as the winter residence of the hostage, and hence it was called Chīnabhukti.'

Hiuen Tsang then goes on to state that the hostage introduced pears and peaches into this part of India, where previously they had been unknown. Hence peaches were called 'Chīnāni' and pears were called 'Chīna-rājaputra' (*Watters*, i, 292).

In the *Life*, the tradition of the hostage is noticed only in connexion with Kapiśa, and is not alluded to in the account of the pilgrim's stay of fourteen months at Chīnabhukti (p. 76). We are informed that there were about a hundred religious foundations at the capital of Kapiśa, each of which sought the honour of entertaining the pilgrim as a guest. The king of the country trusted entirely to the Mahāyāna teaching, but the hostage's temple or monastery was held by the Hīnayānists, and for this reason Hwui-Seng, then the companion of Hiuen Tsang, and himself a Hīnayānist, preferred to lodge in that institution.

'There was a temple belonging to the Little Vehicle, which was named *Sha-lo-kia*. The story goes that the temple was built some time ago, when the son of the Han emperor was held as a hostage. The priests of this temple said :—"Our temple was originally founded by a son of the Han emperor, and now, as you come from that country, you ought first to stop with us".'

Hiuen Tsang, being deeply impressed by this argument and also willing to oblige his companion, accepted the invitation of the *Sha-lo-kia* monks and stayed with them during the rains (*Life*, p. 54). The story of the buried treasure is then narrated at length.

Dr. Franke may be right in his emphatic declaration that 'the presence of a son of the emperor of China as a hostage at the court of Kanishka is utterly unthinkable' (*Türkvölker*, p. 87). Perhaps Hiuen Tsang's notes contained two versions of the tradition current at Kapiśa, one treating the hostage as having been sent by a vassal State, and the other describing him as a son of the Han emperor. The former and more trustworthy statement was accepted by the editors of the *Records*, while the latter and less credible story was inserted by the authors of the *Life*. Whether there were several hostages or only one hostage does not much matter, and I cannot decide which translator is right on that point. For convenience, I assume that there were several hostages, as understood by the majority of the translators.

Where did these hostages come from? It is quite clear that they were not Chinamen in the strict sense. They came from the tribes or States west of the Yellow river (*Ho-si*), and in appearance resembled the 'Hia of the east'. Dr. Franke understands the latter phrase to mean the Tanguts, or nomads, of Kan-su, in Western China, and interprets *Ho-si* as meaning the territory in Kan-su which now forms the five prefectures of Lanchow, Liangchow, Kanchow, Suchow, and Ansi. It is not easy to understand how a State so remote as a part of Kan-su could have been frightened into sending hostages to Kanishka, and it is much more natural to understand that the State which sent the hostages was situated in the south-western part of Chinese Turkestan, and not very far from the Tsung-ling or Sarīkōl, mountains. Mr. Watters evidently held this opinion, because he informs his readers that 'the "Chīna" known to the people of India before the arrival of Chinese pilgrims and afterwards was apparently not the "Flowery Middle Country", but rather a region occupied by a tribe living to the west of the Chinese empire, far west of the Yellow river This "Chīna" was watered by the rivers Sita and Chakshu, and it was one of the countries in the north-east [from India]. The name was afterwards extended to the "Flowery Land" apparently by the Buddhist writers and translators of India and Kashmīr. Our pilgrim tells his readers that the people of Chīnabhukti had great respect for the "East Land", and that, pointing to him, they said one to another: "He is a man of the country of our former king"' (*Watters*, i, 293). Dr. Stein has proved that the Śītā (Hsi-to) is the Yārkand river, of which the Tāghdumbāsh stream is one of the principal affluents (*Ancient Khotan*, pp. 27, 35, 42). The Chakshu is the Oxus.[1] These identifications

[1] The astronomer Bhāskara Āchārya names the Sītā and Chakshu as two of the four streams descending from Mount Meru, which seems to have meant the Pāmīr watershed for him (quoted

indicate that the country from which the hostages were believed to have been sent must have been in the neighbourhood of either Yārkand or Kāshgar. The marching distance from Kāshgar to Yārkand is about 120 English miles

Stein, Specht, and Marquart believed that the *Annals of the Later Hans* contained a statement that An-kuo, the ruler of Su-lê, or Kāshgar, had sent his relative, Prince Ch'ên-pân, as a hostage to the king of the Great Yueh-chi at some date between 107–13 A.D. This alleged statement naturally has been cited in support of Hiuen Tsang's tradition of the hostages (*Ancient Khotan*, pp. 55, 56, with ref.). But Dr. Franke declares positively that 'the argument is lacking in any support; there is not any mention in the Chinese text either of a prince who was sent as a hostage to the Yueh-chi, nor is there any reference to King Kanishka, such as Marquart supposes to exist' (op. cit., p. 83 note). The sinologists must settle this conflict of evidence. So much is clear—that as the matter stands, a writer ignorant of Chinese cannot venture to cite the *Han Annals* in support of the tradition recorded by Hiuen Tsang.

The pilgrim spent the rainy season of 630 A.D in the hostages' monastery at the capital of Kapiśa, and resided for fourteen months in the connected institution at Chīnabhukti during the years 633–4 A.D. He must, therefore, have had the most ample opportunity for learning correctly the local traditions, and there can be no doubt that he has reported them accurately. Apparently, he must have heard also at Kapiśa the additional detail that one hostage was a son of the Han emperor; because, if that tradition was not mentioned in his notes, it is difficult to imagine how it could have come to the knowledge of his biographer But the pilgrim excludes this detail from the account of his travels, presumably because he did not believe it. We may follow his example, and accept the tradition that Kanishka took hostages, or a hostage, from a western dependency of China, while rejecting the embellishment that one hostage was a son of a Han emperor. The western dependency in question apparently was in the neighbourhood of either Yārkand or Kāshgar. I do not see any good reason for discrediting the belief of the monks that the hostages introduced pears and peaches into the Panjāb.

Dr. Stein points out that in Khotan and Yārkand the Mahāyāna, or Great Vehicle, doctrine prevailed, whereas in Kāshgar the Hīnayāna, or Little Vehicle, doctrine was the favourite. This indicates a connexion of the hostages' monasteries at both Kapiśa and Chīnabhukti with Kāshgar rather than with Yārkand. The story that Kanishka built Buddhist monasteries for the recep-

from Colebrooke, *Siddhānta Siromani*, in Elliot, *Hist. of India*, vol. i, p. 50).

tion of the hostages seems to imply that Buddhism already existed in the hostages' country—that is to say, presumably in the neighbourhood of Kāshgar. The manner and time of the introduction of Buddhism into Kāshgar are not known, but whenever and however the doctrine was imported, it would seem to have come from Hīnayānist Bactria rather than from Mahāyānist Khotan or Yārkand. It is quite possible that Asoka's missionaries, or their early successors, may have penetrated as far as Kāshgar, whereas the introduction of Mahāyānist doctrine into Khotan and Yārkand may have been the result of Kanishka's conquests. When Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdom of Cho-kiu-kia, or Karghalik, to the south of Yārkand, he noted that 'in this kingdom the writings of the Great Vehicle are very abundant. There is no place where the law of Buddha is more flourishing than this' (*Beal*, ii, 308). The identification of Cho-kiu-kia (*al.* Tchou-kiu, Tchou-kiu-po, Tchou-kiu-pån, Tcho-keou-kia) with Karghalik is due to M. Chavannes (*Song Yun*, pp 19, 20)

CHAPTER XI

THE GUPTA EMPIRE, AND THE WESTERN SATRAPS; CHANDRA-GUPTA I TO KUMARAGUPTA I

FROM 320 TO 455 A.D.

In the fourth century light again dawns, the veil of oblivion is lifted, and the history of India regains unity and interest. Origin of the Gupta dynasty.

A local Rāja at or near Pātaliputra, bearing the famous name of Chandra-gupta,[1] wedded, in or about the year 308, a princess named Kumāra Devī, who belonged to the ancient Lichchhavi clan, celebrated ages before in the early annals of Buddhism. During the long period of about eight centuries which intervened between the reign of Ajātasatru and the marriage of Kumāra Devī the history of the Lichchhavis has been lost for the most part, although they are known to have established a dynasty in Nepāl, which used an era believed to run from 111 A.D.[2] They now come suddenly into notice again in connexion with this marriage, which proved to be an event of the highest political importance, as being the foundation of the fortunes of a dynasty destined to rival the glories of the Mauryas. Kumāra Devī evidently brought to her husband as her dowry valuable influence, which in the course of a few years secured to him a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. It seems probable that at the time of this fateful union the Lichchhavis were masters of the ancient imperial city, and that Chandra-gupta, by means of his matrimonial alliance, succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives. In the olden days the Lichchhavis of Vaisāli had 308 A.D.

[1] The names of the Chandra-guptas of the Gupta dynasty are spelt with a hyphen, to distinguish them from the Maurya.

[2] Lévi, *Le Népal*, I, 14; II, 153.

been the rivals of the kings of Pātaliputra, and apparently, during the disturbed times which followed the reign of Pushyamitra, they paid off old scores by taking possession of the city, which had been built and fortified many centuries earlier for the express purpose of curbing their restless spirit.

320 A. D Lichchhavi alliance; Chandra-gupta I, acc.

Certain it is that Chandra-gupta was raised by his Lichchhavi connexion from the rank of a local chief, as enjoyed by his father and grandfather,[1] to such dignity that he felt justified in assuming the lofty title of 'sovereign of Mahārājas', usually associated with a claim to the rank of lord paramount. He struck coins in the joint names of himself, his queen, and the Lichchhavis; and his son and successor habitually described himself with pride as the son of the daughter of the Lichchhavis. Chandra-gupta, designated as the First, to distinguish him from his grandson of the same name, extended his dominion along the Gangetic valley as far as the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, where Allāhābād now stands; and ruled during his brief tenure of the throne a populous and fertile territory, which included Tirhūt, Bihār, Oudh, and certain adjoining districts. His political importance was sufficient to warrant him in establishing, after the Oriental manner, a new era dating from his formal consecration or coronation, when he was proclaimed as heir to the imperial power associated by venerable tradition with the possession of Pātaliputra. The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, ran from February 26, 320 A. D., to March 13, 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Chandra-gupta I.[2]

[1] His father was named Ghaṭotkacha, and his grandfather simply Gupta. Buddhist legend offers another instance of the participle Gupta alone serving as a proper name in the case of Upagupta (Gupta the Less), son of Gupta the perfumer

[2] For the chronology of the dynasty see the author's paper, 'Revised Chronology of the Early or Imperial Gupta Dynasty' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1902, p. 257), which modifies the scheme as given in his numismatic works. The Gupta inscriptions, so far as known up to 1888, have been well edited by Dr. Fleet (*Corpus Inscr. Ind.*, vol. iii). The principal discoveries since that date are the Bhitarī seal of Kumāragupta II, edited by V. A. Smith and Hoernle in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lviii, part i, 1889; and the Basāṛh seals of Ghaṭotkachagupta and

Before his death, which occurred five or six years later, Chandra-gupta selected as his successor the Crown Prince, Samudragupta, his son by the Lichchhavi princess. The paternal preference was abundantly justified by the young king, who displayed a degree of skill in the arts of both peace and war which entitles him to high rank among the most illustrious sovereigns of India. 326 A.D. Samudra-gupta, acc.

From the moment of his accession, Samudragupta assumed the part of an aggressively ambitious monarch, resolved to increase his dominions at the expense of his neighbours. Wars of aggression never have been condemned by such public opinion as exists in the East, and no king who cared for his reputation could venture to rest contented within his own borders. Samudragupta had no hesitation in acting on the principle that 'kingdom-taking' is the business of kings, and immediately after his succession to the throne plunged into war, which occupied many years of his unusually protracted reign.[1] His aggressive spirit.

When his fighting days were over, he employed a learned poet, skilled in the technicalities of Sanskrit verse, to compose a panegyric of his achievements, which he caused to be engraved on one of the stone pillars set up six centuries before by Asoka and incised with his edicts.[2] Samudragupta, an orthodox Hindu, learned in all the wisdom of the Brahmans, and an ambitious soldier full of the joy of battle, who cared nothing for preachings of the monk Asoka, recorded in an antique script and unfamiliar dialect, made no scruple about setting his own ruthless boasts of sanguinary wars by the side of the quietist moralizings of him who deemed 'the chiefest conquest' to be the conquest of piety. Epigraphic record.

Samudragupta's anxiety to provide for the remembrance

the queen of Chandra-gupta II (*Archaeol. S. Annual Rep.*, 1903-4, pp. 101-22, Pl. XL-XLII). Dates expressed in the Gupta era generally can be converted into dates A.D. by the addition of 319; e.g. 82 G.E. = 401 A.D.

[1] Authorities and details are fully discussed in the author's paper, 'The Conquests of Samudra Gupta' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 859). A few necessary corrections will be made in subsequent notes.

[2] The inscription is not posthumous (Bühler, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 386). The pillar stands in the fort at Allāhābād, but probably not in its original position.

of his deeds was not in vain. The record composed by his poet-laureate survives to this day practically complete, and furnishes a detailed contemporary account of the events of the reign, probably superior to anything else of the kind in the multitude of Indian inscriptions. Unfortunately the document is not dated, but it may be assigned with a very near approach to accuracy to the year 360 A. D., or a little earlier or later, and it is thus, apart from its value as history, of great interest as an important Sanskrit composition, partly in verse and partly in prose, of ascertained age and origin. The value as dated literature of the great historical inscriptions, although emphasized by Bühler, is still, perhaps, not fully recognized by scholars who occupy themselves primarily with the books preserved in libraries. But our concern at present in the elaborate composition of Harishena is with its contents as an historical document, rather than with its place in the evolution of Sanskrit, and the exposition of its importance as a linguistic and literary landmark must be left to specialists.

His various campaigns.

The author of the panegyric classifies his lord's campaigns geographically under four heads: as those directed against eleven kings of the south; nine named kings of Āryāvarta, or the Gangetic plain, besides many others not specified; the chiefs of the wild forest tribes; and the rulers of the frontier kingdoms and republics. He also explains Samudagupta's relation with certain foreign powers, too remote to come within the power of his arm. Although it is at present impossible to identify every one of the countries, kings, and peoples enumerated by the poet, and sundry matters of detail remain to be cleared up by future discovery and investigation, enough is known to enable the historian to form a clear idea of the extent of the dominions and the range of the alliances of the most brilliant of the Gupta emperors. The matter of the record being arranged on literary rather than historical principles, it is not possible to narrate the events of the reign in strict chronological order.

Conquest of Northern India.

But we may feel assured that this Indian Napoleon first turned his arms against the powers nearest him, and that he

thoroughly subjugated the Rājas of the Gangetic plain, the wide region now known as Hindustan, before he embarked on his perilous adventures in the remote south. His treatment of the Rājas of the north was drastic; for we are told that they were 'forcibly rooted up', a process which necessarily involved the incorporation of their territories in the dominions of the victor. Among the nine names mentioned, only one can be recognized with certainty, that of Ganapati Nāga, whose capital was at Padmāvatī or Narwar, a famous city, which still exists, in the territories of the Mahārāja Sindia.

The greater part of these northern conquests must have been completed, and the subjugated territories absorbed, before Samudragupta ventured to undertake the invasion of the kingdoms of the south; a task which demanded uncommon boldness in design, and masterly powers of organization and execution.

Conquest of South Kosala and forest tribes.

The invader, marching due south from the capital, through Chutiā Nāgpur, directed his first attack against the kingdom of South Kosala in the valley of the Mahānadī, and overthrew its king, Mahendra.[1] Passing on, he subdued all the chiefs of the forest countries, which still retain their ancient wildness, and constitute the tributary states of Orissa and the more backward parts of the Central Provinces. The principal of those chiefs, who bore the appropriate name of Vyāghra Rāja, or the Tiger King, is not otherwise known to history. At this stage of the campaign, the main difficulties must have been those of transport and supply, for the ill-armed forest tribes could not have offered serious military resistance to a well-equipped army.

Conquests in extreme south.

Still advancing southwards, by the east coast road, Samudragupta vanquished the chieftain who held Pishtapura, the ancient capital of Kalinga, now Pithāpuram in the Godāvarī district, as well as the hill-forts of Mahendragiri and Kottūra in Ganjām; King Mantarāja, whose territory lay on the banks of the Kollēru (Colair) lake;[2] the neighbouring king

[1] North Kosala corresponded roughly with Oudh, north of the Ghāgra river.

[2] For correct interpretation of *Kaurāḷaka* see Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.* vol. vi, p. 3. Koṭṭūra (Kothoor of *Indian Atlas*, sheet No. 108) lies twelve miles SSE. from Mahendra-

of Vengī between the Krishnā and Godāvarī rivers, perhaps a Pallava; and Vishnugōpa, the Pallava king of Kānchī, or Conjeeveram, to the south-west of Madras. Then turning westwards, he subjugated a chieftain, named Ugrasēna, king of Pālakka, a place perhaps situated in the Nellore District.[1]

Return through Khāndēsh.

He returned homewards through the western parts of the Deccan, subduing on his way the kingdom of Devarāshtra, or the modern Mahratta country, and Erandapalla, or Khāndēsh.[2]

340 A. D.

This wonderful campaign, which involved two or three thousand miles of marching through difficult country, must have occupied about two years at least, and its conclusion may be dated approximately in 340 A. D.

Rich spoils; parallel of Malik Kāfūr.

No attempt was made to effect the permanent annexation of these southern states; the triumphant victor admitting that he only exacted a temporary submission and then withdrew. But beyond doubt he despoiled the rich treasuries of the south, and came back laden with golden booty, like the Muhammadan adventurer who performed the same military exploit nearly a thousand years later. Malik Kāfūr, the general of Alā-ud-dīn, Sultan of Delhi, in the years 1309 and 1310, repeated the performance of Samudragupta, operating, however, chiefly on the eastern side of the peninsula, and penetrated even further south than his Hindu predecessor. He forced his way to Rāmesvara, or Adam's Bridge, opposite Ceylon, where he built a mosque, which was still standing when Firishta wrote his history in the sixteenth century.

Tributary frontier states.

The enumeration by the courtly panegyrist of the frontier kingdoms and republics whose rulers did homage and paid tribute to the emperor, a title fairly earned by Samudragupta, enables the historians to define the boundaries of his dominions with sufficient accuracy, and to realize the nature of the political divisions of India in the fourth century.

On the eastern side of the continent the tributary kingdoms were Samatata, or the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra,

giri. The proper rendering of the passage was settled by Kielhorn and Fleet in 1898. For Pishtapura see Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, xxx (1901), p. 26.

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, viii, 161.

[2] Fleet, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 369.

including the site on which Calcutta now stands; Kāmarūpa, or Assam; and Davāka, which seems to have corresponded with the Bogrā (Bagrahā), Dinājpur, and Rājshāhī districts to the north of the Ganges, lying between Samatata and Kāmarūpa. Further west, the mountain kingdom of Nepāl, then, as now, retained its autonomy under the suzerainty of the paramount power, and the direct jurisdiction of the imperial government extended only to the foot of the mountains. The kingdom of Kartripura occupied the lower ranges of the western Himalayas, including probably Kumāon, Almora, Garhwāl, and Kāngrā.[1]

Tribal republics.

The Panjāb, Eastern Rājputāna, and Mālwā for the most part were in possession of tribes or clans living under republican institutions. The Yaudhēya tribe occupied both banks of the Sutlaj, while the Mādrakas held the central parts of the Panjāb. The reader may remember that in Alexander's time these regions were similarly occupied by autonomous tribes, then called the Malloi, Kathaioi, and so forth. The Jumna probably formed the north-western frontier of the Gupta empire. The Ārjunāyanas, Mālavas, and Ābhīras were settled in Eastern Rājputāna and Mālwā, and in this direction the river Chambal may be regarded as the imperial boundary. The line next turned in an easterly direction along the territories of minor nations whose position cannot be exactly determined, passing probably through Bhopāl, until it struck the Narmadā river, which formed the southern frontier.

Limits of empire.

The dominion under the direct government of Samudragupta in the middle of the fourth century thus comprised all the most populous and fertile countries of Northern India. It extended from the Hooghly on the east to the Jumna and Chambal on the west; and from the foot of the Himalayas on the north to the Narmadā on the south.

Beyond these wide limits, the frontier kingdoms of Assam and the Gangetic delta, as well as those on the southern

[1] Dr. Fleet suggests that the name may survive in Kartārpur in the Jālandhar district. Brigade-Surgeon C. F. Oldham refers to the Katuria Rāj of Kumāon, Garhwāl, and Rōhilkhand (*J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 198). See map of the Gupta Empire.

slopes of the Himalayas, and the free tribes of Rājputāna and Mālwā, were attached to the empire by bonds of subordinate alliance; while almost all the kingdoms of the south had been overrun by the emperor's armies and compelled to acknowledge his irresistible might.

Relations with foreign powers.

The empire thus defined was by far the greatest that had been seen in India since the days of Asoka, six centuries before, and its possession naturally entitled Samudragupta to the respect of foreign powers. We are not, therefore, surprised to learn that he maintained diplomatic relations with the Kushān king of Gandhāra and Kābul, and the greater sovereign of the same race who ruled on the banks of the Oxus, as well as with Ceylon and other distant islands.

Embassies from Ceylon.

Communication between the king of Ceylon and Samudragupta had been established accidentally at a very early period in the reign of the latter, about 330 A.D. Meghavarna, the Buddhist king of Ceylon, had sent two monks, one of whom is said to have been his brother, to do homage to the Diamond Throne and visit the monastery built by Asoka to the east of the sacred tree at Bōdh Gayā. The strangers, perhaps by reason of sectarian rancour, met with scant hospitality, and on their return to the island complained to the king that they could not find any place in India where they could stay in comfort. King Meghavarna recognized the justice of the complaint, and resolved to remedy the grievance by founding a monastery at which his subjects, when on pilgrimage to the holy places, should find adequate and suitable accommodation. He accordingly dispatched a mission to Samudragupta laden with the gems for which Ceylon has always been renowned, and other valuable gifts, and requested permission to found a monastery on Indian soil. Samudragupta, flattered at receiving such attentions from a distant power, was pleased to consider the gifts as tribute, and gave the required permission. The envoy returned home, and, after due deliberation, King Meghavarna decided to build his monastery near the holy tree. His purpose was solemnly recorded on a copper plate and carried out by the erection of a splendid convent to the north of

the tree. This building, which was three stories in height, included six halls, was adorned with three towers, and surrounded by a strong wall thirty or forty feet high. The decorations were executed in the richest colours with the highest artistic skill, and the statue of Buddha, cast in gold and silver, was studded with gems. The subsidiary *stūpas*, enshrining relics of Buddha himself, were worthy of the principal edifice. In the seventh century, when Hiuen Tsang visited it, this magnificent establishment was occupied by a thousand monks of the Sthavira school of the Mahāyāna, and afforded ample hospitality to pilgrims from Ceylon. The site is now marked by an extensive mound.[1]

Horse-sacrifice.

It was presumably after his return from the south that Samudragupta determined to celebrate his manifold victories and proclaim the universality of his dominion by reviving the ancient rite of the horse-sacrifice (*aśvamedha*), which had remained long in abeyance, and probably had not been performed in Northern India since the days of Pushyamitra. The ceremony was duly carried out with appropriate splendour, and accompanied by lavish gifts to Brahmans, comprising, it is said, millions of coins and gold pieces. Specimens of the gold medals struck for this purpose, bearing a suitable legend and the effigy of the doomed horse standing before the altar, have been found in small numbers. Another memorial of the event seems to exist in the rudely carved stone figure of a horse which was found in Northern Oudh, and now stands at the entrance to the Lucknow Museum with a brief dedicatory inscription incised upon it, which apparently refers to Samudragupta.[2]

Personal accomplishments of Samudragupta.

Although the courtly phrases of the official eulogist cannot be accepted without a certain amount of reservation, it is clear that Samudragupta was a ruler of exceptional

[1] The synchronism of Meghavarṇa with Samudragupta, discovered by M. Sylvain Lévi from a Chinese work, has been discussed by the author in the paper on Gupta chronology already cited, and in 'The Inscriptions of Mahānāman at Bōdh-Gayā' (*Ind. Ant.*, 1902, p. 192).

[2] The fact that the mutilated inscription — *dda guttassa deyadhaṁma*—is in Prākrit suggests a shade of doubt. All other Gupta inscriptions are in Sanskrit (*J. R. A. S.*, 1893, p. 98, with plate). See Fig. 11 in plate of coins.

capacity, and unusually varied gifts. The laureate's commemoration of his hero's proficiency in song and music is curiously confirmed by the existence of a few rare gold coins which depict his majesty comfortably seated on a high-backed couch, engaged in playing the Indian lyre.[1] The allied art of poetry was also reckoned among the accomplishments of this versatile monarch, who is said to have been reputed a king of poets, and to have composed numerous metrical works worthy of the reputation of a professional author. We are further informed that the king took much delight in the society of the learned, and loved to employ his acute and polished intellect in the study and defence of the sacred scriptures, as well as in the lighter arts of music and poetry. The picture of Samudragupta as painted by his court poet reminds the reader of that of Akbar as depicted by his no less partial biographer, Abul Fazl.

Whatever may have been the exact degree of skill attained by Samudragupta in the practice of the arts which graced his scanty leisure, it is clear that he was endowed with no ordinary powers; and that he was in fact a man of genius, who may fairly claim the title of the Indian Napoleon. Unfortunately, the portraits on his coins are not sufficiently good to give a clear notion of his personal appearance.

Recovery of his history.

By a strange irony of fate this great king—warrior, poet, and musician—who conquered nearly all India, and whose alliances extended from the Oxus to Ceylon, is unknown even by name to the historians of India. His lost fame has been slowly recovered by the minute and laborious study of inscriptions and coins during the last seventy years; and the fact that it is now possible to write a long narrative of the events of his memorable reign is perhaps the most conspicuous illustration of the success gained by patient archaeological research in piecing together the fragments from which alone the chart of the authentic early history of India can be constructed.

cir. 375 A.D.

The exact year of Samudragupta's death is not known, but he certainly lived to an advanced age, and enjoyed a reign of uninterrupted prosperity for about half a century.

[1] Plate of coins, Fig. 10.

Before he passed away, he secured the peaceful transmission of the crown by nominating as his successor, from among many sons,[1] the offspring of his queen, Datta Devī, whom he rightly deemed worthy to inherit a magnificent empire.

Chandra-gupta II, acc.

The son thus selected, who probably had been associated as Crown Prince with his father in the cares of government (*yuvarāja*), assumed the name of his grandfather, in accordance with Hindu custom, and is therefore distinguished in the dynastic list as Chandra-gupta II. He also took the title of Vikramāditya ('sun of power'), and has a better claim than any other sovereign to be regarded as the original of the mythical king of that name who figures so largely in Indian legends. The precise date of his accession is not recorded, but it cannot be far removed from 375 A.D.; and, pending the discovery of some coin or inscription to settle the matter, that date may be assumed as approximately correct.

Wars in Bengal and on the Indus.

So far as appears, the succession to the throne was accomplished peacefully without contest, and the new emperor, who must have been a man of mature age at the time of his accession, found himself in a position to undertake the extension of the wide dominion bequeathed to him by his ever victorious father. He did not renew Samudragupta's southern adventures, but preferred to seek room for expansion towards the east, north-west, and south-west. Our knowledge of his campaign in Bengal is confined to the assertion made in the elegant poetical inscription on the celebrated Iron Pillar of Delhi that 'when warring in the Vanga countries, he breasted and destroyed the enemies confederate against him'; and the language of the poet may refer to the suppression of a rebellion rather than to a war of aggression. The same document is the only authority for the fact that he crossed the 'seven mouths of the Indus', and vanquished in battle a nation called Vāhlika, which apparently occupied part of the Panjāb.[2]

[1] Eraṇ and Bhitarī inscriptions.

[2] This inscription is fully discussed in the author's paper, 'The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihraulī) and the Emperor Candra (Chandra),' in *J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 1.

Conquest of Mālwā, Gujarāt, and Kāṭhiāwār.

But the great military achievement of Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya was his advance to the Arabian Sea through Mālwā and Gujarāt, and his subjugation of the peninsula of Surāshtra or Kāthiāwār, which had been ruled for centuries by the Saka dynasty, known to European scholars as the Western Satraps.[1] The campaigns which added those remote provinces to the empire must have occupied several years, and are known to have taken place between 388 and 401 A.D. The year 395 may be assumed as a mean date for the completion of the conquest, which involved the incorporation in the empire of the territory held by the Mālavas and other tribes, who had remained outside the limits of Samudra-gupta's dominion. The annexation of Surāshtra and Mālwā not only added to the empire provinces of exceptional wealth and fertility, but opened up to the paramount power free access to the ports of the western coast; and thus placed Chandra-gupta II in direct touch with the seaborne commerce with Europe through Egypt, and brought his court and subjects under the influence of the European ideas which travelled with the goods of the Alexandrian merchants.

The Western Satraps.

The Saka dynasty, which was overthrown in or about 395 A.D., had been founded in the first century of the Christian era, probably by a chief named Bhūmaka Kshaharāta; who was followed by Nahapāna, a member of the same clan.[2] When the latter was destroyed by the Āndhra king, as related in chapter viii, the local government passed into the hands of Chashtana and his descendants. In the middle of the second century, the satrap Rudradāman, having decisively defeated his Āndhra rival, had firmly established his own power not only over the peninsula of Surāshtra, but also over Mālwā, Cutch (Kachchh), Sind, the Konkan, and other districts—in short, over Western India. The capital of Chashtana and his successors was Ujjain, one of the most ancient cities of India, the principal dépôt for the commerce between the ports of

[1] For the detailed history of the Western Satraps see the papers by Messrs. Rapson, Bhagwān Lāl Indrajī, and Biddulph, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1890, p. 639; 1899, p. 357.

[2] *Ante*, p. 199.

the west and the interior, famous as a seat of learning and civilization, and also notable as the Indian Greenwich from which longitudes were reckoned. The place, which is still a considerable town with many relics of its past greatness, retains its ancient name, and was for a time the capital of Mahārāja Sindia.

Fall of the last satrap.

Samudragupta, although not able to undertake the conquest of the west, had received an embassy from the satrap Rudrasena, son of Rudradāman, who must have been deeply impressed by the emperor's triumphant march through India. Chandra-gupta II, strong in the possession of the territory and treasure acquired by his father, resolved to crush his western rival, and to annex the valuable provinces which owned the satrap's sway. The motives of an ambitious king in undertaking an aggressive war against a rich neighbour are not far to seek; but we may feel assured that differences of race, creed, and manners supplied the Gupta monarch with special reasons for desiring to suppress the impure, foreign rulers of the west. Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya, although tolerant of Buddhism and Jainism, was himself an orthodox Hindu, specially devoted to the cult of Vishnu, and as such cannot but have experienced peculiar satisfaction in 'violently uprooting' foreign chieftains who cared little for caste rules. Whatever his motives may have been, he attacked, dethroned, and slew the satrap Rudrasinha, son of Satyasinha, and annexed his dominions. Scandalous tradition affirmed that 'in his enemy's city the king of the Sakas, while courting another man's wife, was butchered by Chandra-gupta, concealed in his mistress's dress'; [1] but the tale does not look like genuine history. The last notice of the satraps refers to the year 388 A.D., and the incorporation of their dominions in the Gupta empire must have been effected soon after that date.

Character of Chandra-gupta II.

The Gupta kings, excepting the founder of the dynasty, all enjoyed long reigns, like the Moghals in later times. Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya occupied the throne for nearly forty years, and survived until 413 A.D. Little is known

[1] *Harṣa-carita*, transl. Cowell and Thomas, p. 194.

concerning his personal character; but the ascertained facts of his career suffice to prove that he was a strong and vigorous ruler, well qualified to govern and augment an extensive empire. He loved sounding titles which proclaimed his martial prowess, and was fond of depicting himself, after the old Persian fashion, as engaged in successful personal combat with a lion.

The capital.

There are indications that Pātaliputra, although it may have been still regarded as the official capital, ceased to be the ordinary residence of the Gupta sovereigns after the completion of the extensive conquests effected by Samudragupta. The Maurya emperors, it is true, had managed to control a dominion considerably larger than that of the Guptas from the ancient imperial city, but, even in their time, its remoteness in the extreme east must have caused inconvenience, and a more central position for the court had obvious advantages. Ajodhya, the legendary abode of the hero Rāma, the ruins of which have supplied materials for the building of the modern city of Fyzabād in Southern Oudh, enjoyed a more favourable situation, and appears to have been at times the head quarters of the government of both Samudragupta and his son, the latter of whom probably had a mint for copper coins there. There is reason to believe that during the second half of the fifth century Ajodhya was the capital of both Skandagupta and Narasinha-gupta-Bālāditya.

Kauśāmbī.

The Asoka pillar on which Samudragupta recorded the history of his reign is supposed to have been erected originally at the celebrated city of Kausāmbi, which stood on the high road between Ujjain and Northern India, and was no doubt honoured at times by the residence of the monarch.[1] The real capital of an Oriental despotism is the seat of the despot's court for the time being.

Pātaliputra.

Pātaliputra, however, although necessarily considerably neglected by warrior kings like Samudragupta and Vikramāditya, continued to be a magnificent and populous city

[1] For discussion of the site of Kauśāmbī see the author's papers, 'Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī,' in *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 503; and 'Śrāvastī', ibid., 1900, p. 1

throughout the reign of the latter, and was not finally ruined until the time of the Hun invasion in the sixth century; from which date it practically disappeared until it was rebuilt a thousand years later by Shēr Shāh. Since his time the venerable city, under the names of Patna and Bankipore, has regained much of its ancient importance, and has played a part in many notable events.

405–11 A. D. Fa-hien

We are fortunate enough to possess in the work of Fa-hien, the earliest Chinese pilgrim, a contemporary account of the administration of Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya, as it appeared to an intelligent foreigner at the beginning of the fifth century. The worthy pilgrim, it is true, was so absorbed in his search for Buddhist books, legends, and miracles that he had little care for the things of this world, and did not trouble even to mention the name of the mighty monarch in whose territories he spent six studious years. But now and then he allowed his pen to note some of the facts of ordinary life, and in more than one passage he has recorded particulars, which, although insufficient to gratify the curiosity of the twentieth century, yet suffice to give a tolerably vivid picture of the state of the country. The picture is a very pleasing one on the whole, and proves that Vikramāditya was capable of bestowing on his people the benefits of orderly government in sufficient measure to allow them to grow rich in peace and prosper abundantly.

Splendours of Pātaliputra.

On the occasion of his first visit to Pātaliputra the traveller was deeply impressed by the sight of Asoka's palace, which was at that time still in existence, and so cunningly constructed of stone that the work clearly appeared to be beyond the skill of mortal hands, and was believed to have been executed by spirits in the service of the emperor. Near a great *stūpa*, also ascribed to Asoka, stood two monasteries, one occupied by followers of the Mahāyāna, and the other by those of the Hīnayāna sect. The monks resident in both establishments together numbered six or seven hundred, and were so famous for learning that their lectures were frequented by students and inquirers from all quarters. Fa-hien spent three years here studying Sanskrit, and was

made happy by obtaining certain works on monastic discipline as taught by various schools, for which he had sought elsewhere in vain. He describes with great admiration the splendid procession of images, carried on some twenty huge cars richly decorated, which annually paraded through the city on the eighth day of the second month, attended by singers and musicians; and notes that similar processions were common in other parts of the country.[1]

Free hospital.

The towns of Magadha were the largest in the Gangetic plain, which Fa-hien calls by the name of Central India or the Middle Kingdom; the people were rich and prosperous, and seemed to him to emulate each other in the practice of virtue. Charitable institutions were numerous; rest-houses for travellers were provided on the highways, and the capital possessed an excellent free hospital endowed by benevolent and educated citizens.

> 'Hither come,' we are told, 'all poor or helpless patients suffering from all kinds of infirmities. They are well taken care of, and a doctor attends them; food and medicine being supplied according to their wants. Thus they are made quite comfortable, and when they are well, they may go away.'[2]

No such foundation was to be seen elsewhere in the world at that date; and its existence, anticipating the deeds of modern Christian charity, speaks well both for the character of the citizens who endowed it, and for the genius of the great Asoka, whose teaching still bore such wholesome fruit many centuries after his decease. The earliest hospital in Europe, the Maison Dieu of Paris, is said to have been opened in the seventh century.

Buddhism.

In the course of a journey of some five hundred miles from the Indus to Mathurā on the Jumna, Fa-hien passed a succession of Buddhist monasteries tenanted by thousands of monks; and in the neighbourhood of Mathurā found twenty of these buildings occupied by three thousand residents. Buddhism was growing in favour in this part of the country.[3]

[1] *Travels*, ch. xxvii, in any of the versions.

[2] Ibid., Giles's version.

[3] *Travels*, ch. xvi. The 'temples'

The region to the south of Mathurā, that is to say, Mālwā, specially excited the admiration of the traveller; who was delighted alike with the natural advantages of the country, the disposition of the people, and the moderation of the government. The climate seemed to him very agreeable, being temperate, and free from the discomforts of frost and snow with which he was familiar at home and in the course of his journey. The large population lived happily under a sensible government which did not worry. With a glance at Chinese institutions, Fa-hien congratulates the Indians that 'they have not to register their households, or attend to any magistrates and rules.' They were not troubled with passport regulations, or, as the pilgrim bluntly puts it: 'Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop.' The administration of the criminal law seemed to him mild in comparison with the Chinese system. Most crimes were punished only by fines, varying in amount according to the gravity of the offence, and capital punishment would seem to have been unknown. Persons guilty of repeated rebellion, an expression which probably includes brigandage, suffered amputation of the right hand; but such a penalty was exceptional, and judicial torture was not practised. The revenue was mainly derived from the rents of the crown lands, and the royal officers, being provided with fixed salaries, had no occasion to live on the people. Prosperity of Mālwā.

The Buddhist rule of life was generally observed. 'Throughout the country,' we are told, 'no one kills any living thing, or drinks wine, or eats onions or garlic[1] . . . they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places.' The Chandāla, or outcaste tribes, who dwelt apart like lepers, and were required when entering a city or bazaar to strike a piece of wood as a warning of their approach, Buddhist rule of life.

and 'priests' apparently were Buddhist. The versions of this chapter differ considerably: those of Legge and Giles have been used in the text.

[1] Onions and garlic are regarded as impure because, when cut, their structure is supposed to resemble that of flesh. Gopāditya, an ancient king of Kashmīr, punished Brahmans who ate garlic (Stein, transl. *Rājat.*, bk. i, 342).

of lying; but it is permissible to doubt the strict accuracy of this statement,[1] although it is certainly the fact that the people of ancient India enjoyed a widespread and enviable reputation for straightforwardness and honesty.[2]

Penal code.

The general honesty of the people and the efficient administration of the criminal law are both attested by the observation recorded by Megasthenes, that while he resided in Chandragupta's camp, containing 400,000 persons, the total of the thefts reported in any one day did not exceed two hundred *drachmai*, or about eight pounds sterling. When crime did occur it was repressed with terrible severity. Ordinary wounding by mutilation was punished by the corresponding mutilation of the offender, in addition to the amputation of his hand. If the injured person happened to be an artisan devoted to the royal service, the penalty was death. The crime of giving false evidence was visited with mutilation of the extremities; and, in certain unspecified cases, serious offences were punished by the shaving of the offender's hair, a penalty regarded as specially infamous.[3] Injury to a sacred tree,[4] evasion of the municipal tithe on goods sold, and intrusion on the royal procession going to the hunt were all alike capitally punishable. These recorded instances of severity are sufficient to prove that the code of criminal law, as a whole, must have been characterized by uncompromising sternness and slight regard for human life.

and venue.

The native law of India has always recognized agricultural land as being Crown property, and has admitted the undoubted right of the ruling power to levy a Crown rent, or 'land revenue', amounting to a considerable portion, either of the gross produce or of its cash value. Even the English laws, which, contrary to ancient custom, recognize private

[1] The statement that the courtesans were utilized as informers is in *Strabo*, xv, 48.

[2] The evidence is summarized by Max Muller in *India, what can it Teach us?* p. 54.

[3] This was a Persian punishment. 'Lighter crimes are punished by cutting off the nose, or perhaps only the hair. Sometimes one-half of the scalp is shaved, and a tablet affixed to the neck, so inflicting disgrace on the offender' (Kingsmill, in *Athenæum*, July 19, 1902, quoting a Chinese work of the sixth century, entitled *Wei-Shu*, with reference to the Sassanian period).

[4] *Curtius*, viii, 9.

suppose, and sacrifices must have been permitted. In fact, the Brahmanical reaction against Buddhism had begun at a time considerably earlier than that of Fa-hien's travels; and Indian Buddhism was already upon the downward path, although the pilgrim could not discern the signs of decadence.

Certain localities unprosperous

While the general prosperity and tranquillity of the empire under the rule of Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya are abundantly proved by the express testimony of Fa-hien, and by his unobstructed movements in all directions during many years; certain districts did not share in the general well-being, and had retrograded in population and wealth. The city of Gayā, we are informed, was empty and desolate; the holy places of Bōdh-Gayā, six miles to the south, were surrounded by jungle; and an extensive tract of country near the foot of the mountains, which had been the seat of a large population in the fifth century B.C., was now sparsely inhabited. The great city of Srāvastī, on the upper course of the Rāptī, was occupied by only two hundred families; and the holy towns of Kapilavastu and Kusinagara were waste and deserted, save for a scanty remnant of monks and their lay attendants, who clung to the sacred spots, and derived a meagre subsistence from the alms of rare pilgrims. The causes of this decay are unknown.[1]

413 A.D. Kumāragupta I, acc.

The son of Vikramāditya and his queen, Dhruva Devī, who ascended the throne in 413 A.D., is known to history as Kumāragupta I, in order to distinguish him from his great-grandson of the same name. The events of this king's reign, which exceeded forty years, are not known in detail, but the distribution of the numerous contemporary inscriptions and coins permits of no doubt that during the greater part of his unusually prolonged rule, the empire suffered no diminution.[2] On the contrary, it probably gained certain

[1] *Travels*, chh. xx, xxii, xxiv, xxxi.

[2] The only definitely dated event of Kumāragupta's reign which I can specify is the arrival in China, in the year 428 A.D., of an embassy sent by a Rāja named Yue-ai, 'Moon-loved' (? Chandrapriya), who was lord of the Ka-p'i-li country, which has not been identified (Watters, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 540).

additions, for Kumāra, like his grandfather, celebrated the horse-sacrifice as an assertion of his paramount sovereignty; and it is not likely that he would have indulged in this vaunt unless to some extent justified by successful warfare. But the extant records furnish no information concerning specific events, beyond the fact that at the close of his reign, that is to say, in the middle of the fifth century, Kumara's dominions suffered severely from the irruption of the Hun hordes, who had burst through the north-western passes, and spread in a destructive flood all over Northern India. Before entering upon the discussion of the Hun invasion and the consequent break-up of the Gupta empire, it is desirable to pause, in order to record a few brief observations on the significance of the rule of the great Gupta sovereigns in the evolution of Indian language, literature, art, and religion.[1]

[1] See Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar's brilliant essay, *A Peep into the Early History of India from the Foundation of the Maurya Dynasty to the Downfall of the Imperial Gupta Dynastry* (322 B.C.–*cir.* 500 A.D.), Bombay, 1900; reprinted from the *J. Bo. R. A. S.* In spite of an untenable theory of the Kushān chronology, this paper is the best account of the early history of India which has yet appeared.

CHAPTER XII

THE GUPTA EMPIRE (CONTINUED); AND THE WHITE HUNS

FROM 455 TO 606 A.D.

THE general prevalence of Buddhism in Northern India, including Kashmīr, Afghanistan, and Suwāt, during the two centuries immediately preceding, and the two next following the Christian era, is amply attested by the numerous remains of Buddhist monuments erected during that period and a multitude of inscriptions, which are almost all either Buddhist or Jain. The Jain cult, which was closely related to the Buddhist, does not appear to have gained very wide popularity, although it was practised with great devotion at certain localities, of which Mathurā was one.

Prevalence of Buddhism from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D.

But the orthodox Hindu worship, conducted under the guidance of Brahmans, and associated with sacrificial rites abhorrent to Jain and Buddhist sentiment, had never become extinct, and had at all times retained a large share of both popular and royal favour. Kadphises II, the Kushān conqueror, was himself conquered by captive India, and adopted with such zeal the worship of Siva as practised by his new subjects that he constantly placed the image of that Indian god upon his coins, and described himself as his devotee. Many other facts concur to prove the continued worship of the old Hindu gods during the period in which Buddhism unquestionably was the most popular and generally received creed.

Hinduism not extinct.

In some respects, Buddhism in its Mahāyāna form was better fitted than the Brahmanical system to attract the reverence of casteless foreign chieftains; and it would not be unreasonable to expect that they should have shown a decided

Religion of the foreign kings.

tendency to favour Buddhism rather than Brahmanism; but the facts do not indicate any clearly marked general preference for the Buddhist creed on the part of the foreigners. The only distinctively Buddhist coins are the few rare pieces of that kind struck by Kanishka, who undoubtedly, in his later years, liberally patronized the ecclesiastics of the Buddhist church, as did his successor Huvishka; but the next king, Vāsudeva, reverted to the devotion for Siva, as displayed by Kadphises II. So the later Saka satraps of Surāshtra seem to have inclined personally much more to the Brahmanical than to the Buddhist cult, and they certainly bestowed their patronage upon the Sanskrit of the Brahmans rather than upon the vernacular literature.

Connexion between Mahāyāna and Hinduism.

The development of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, which became prominent and fashionable from the time of Kanishka in the second century, was in itself a testimony to the reviving power of Brahmanical Hinduism. The newer form of Buddhism had much in common with the older Hinduism, and the relation is so close that even an expert often feels a difficulty in deciding to which system a particular image should be assigned.

Revival of Sanskrit.

Brahmanical Hinduism was the religion of the pundits, whose sacred language was Sanskrit, a highly artificial literary modification of a vernacular speech of the Panjāb. As the influence of the pundits upon prince and peasant waxed greater in matters of religion and social observance, the use of their special vehicle of expression became more widely diffused, and gradually superseded the vernacular in all documents of a formal or official character. In the third century B.C. Asoka had been content to address his commands to his people in language easy to be understood by the vulgar; but, in the middle of the second century A.D., the western satrap Rudradāman felt that his achievements could be adequately commemorated only in elaborate Sanskrit. It is impossible to go more deeply into the subject in these pages, but it is certain that the revival of the Brahmanical religion was accompanied by the diffusion

and extension of Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Brahmans.[1]

The Hindu reaction in Gupta period.

Whatever may have been the causes, the fact is abundantly established that the restoration of the Brahmanical religion to popular favour, and the associated revival of the Sanskrit language, first became noticeable in the second century, were fostered by the western satraps during the third, and made a success by the Gupta emperors in the fourth century. These princes, although perfectly tolerant of both Buddhism and Jainism, and in two cases personally interested in the former, were themselves beyond question orthodox Hindus, guided by Brahman advisers, and skilled in Sanskrit, the language of the pundits. An early stage in the reaction against Buddhist condemnation of sacrifice had been marked by Pushyamitra's celebration of the horse-sacrifice towards the close of the second century. In the fourth, Samudragupta revived the same ancient rite with added splendour; and, in the fifth, his grandson repeated the solemnity. Without going further into detail, the matter may be summed up in the remark that coins, inscriptions, and monuments agree in furnishing abundant evidence of the recrudescence during the Gupta period of Brahmanical Hinduism at the expense of Buddhism, and of the favour shown by the ruling powers to 'classical' Sanskrit at the expense of the more popular literary dialects, which had enjoyed the patronage of the Āndhra kings.

Vikramāditya and the Nine Gems.

Good reasons can be adduced for the belief that Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, who reigned at the close of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century, and conquered Ujjain, should be regarded as the original of the Rāja Bikram of Ujjain, famed in popular legend, at whose court the Nine Gems of Sanskrit literature are supposed to have flourished.[2] Whether Kālidāsa, poet and dramatist, the

[1] The reader who desires to pursue the subject should consult Professor Otto Franke's book, *Pāli und Sanskrit, in ihrem historischen und geographischen Verhaltniss auf Grund der Inschriften und Munzen*, Strassburg, 1903.

[2] Dr. Hoernle's theory that Yaśodharman in the sixth century was the original of the legendary Vikramāditya is not supported by substantial evidence (*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 551).

most celebrated of these authors, actually graced the durbar of Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya at Ujjain, or lived under the protection of his son or grandson, is a question still open, and it is even possible that he may have been a courtier of one of Chandra-gupta's satrap predecessors; but popular tradition certainly appears to be right in placing the greatest of Indian poets in the age of which Vikramāditya is the most conspicuous political figure.[1]

General literary impulse.

To the same age probably should be assigned the principal Purānas in their present form; the metrical legal treatises, of which the so-called Code of Manu is the most familiar example; and, in short, the mass of the 'classical' Sanskrit literature. The patronage of the great Gupta emperors gave, as Professor Bhandarkar observes, 'a general literary impulse,' which extended to every department, and gradually raised Sanskrit to the position which it long retained as the sole literary language of Northern India. The decline of Buddhism and the diffusion of Sanskrit proceeded side by side, with the result that, by the end of the Gupta period, the force of Buddhism on Indian soil had been nearly spent; and India, with certain local exceptions, had again become the land of the Brahmans.

Architecture.

The literary revolution necessarily was accompanied by corresponding changes in the art of architecture. The forms of buildings specially adapted for the purposes of Buddhist ritual dropped out of use, and remarkable developments in the design of the Hindu temple were elaborated, which ultimately culminated in the marvellously ornate styles of the mediaeval period, extending from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century.[2]

[1] Professor Macdonell places Kālidāsa 'in the beginning of the fifth century A. D.' (*Hist Sanskr. Lit*, p. 325). The poet's mention of the Huns in the *Raghuvaṁśa* is cited as proof that he lived in the reign of Skanda Gupta and wrote subsequently to 470 A. D. (Manmohan Chakravarti, *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 183; Liebich, *Das Datum Candragomin's und Kālidāsa's*, Breslau, 1903). But Mr. Keith considers his date to be '400 A. D. at latest' (ibid., 1901, p. 579). The first Hun invasion of the Gupta empire was not later than 455 A. D. In *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 160, Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti dates the *Raghuvaṁśa* between 480 and 490 A. D., and suggests that the *Meghadūta* and *Ritusaṁhāra* were composed twenty or thirty years earlier.

[2] For the seven characteristics of the Gupta style of architecture see

The Pushyamitra war.

The golden age of the Guptas, glorious in literary, as in political, history, comprised a period of a century and a quarter (330–455 A.D.), and was covered by three reigns of exceptional length. The death of Kumāra, early in 455, marks the beginning of the decline and fall of the empire. Even before his death, his kingdom had become involved, about the year 450, in serious distress by a war with a rich and powerful nation named Pushyamitra, otherwise unknown to history.[1] The imperial armies were defeated, and the shock of military disaster had endangered the stability of the dynasty, which was 'tottering' to its fall, when the energy and ability of Skandagupta, the Crown Prince, restored the fortunes of his family by effecting the overthrow of the enemy. A detail recorded by the contemporary document indicates the severity of the struggle; for we are told that the heir-apparent, while preparing to retrieve the calamities of his house, was obliged to spend a night sleeping on the bare ground.

Defeat of the Huns.

When Skandagupta came to the throne, in the spring of 455, he encountered a sea of troubles. The Pushyamitra danger had been averted, but one more formidable closely followed it, an irruption of the savage Huns, who had poured down from the steppes of Central Asia through the north-western passes, and carried devastation over the smiling plains and crowded cities of India. Skandagupta, who probably was a man of mature years and ripe experience, proved equal to the need, and inflicted upon the barbarians a defeat so decisive that India was saved for a time. His mother still lived, and to her the hero hastened with the news of his victory, 'just as Krishna, when he had slain his enemies, betook himself to his mother Dēvakī.' Having thus paid his duty to his living parent, the king sought to enhance the religious merit of his deceased father by the erection of a pillar of victory, surmounted by a statue of the god Vishnu, and inscribed with an account of the delivery of his

Cunningham, *Archaeol. Rep.*, ix, 42. Many examples are described and illustrated in vols. i, v, ix, x, xi, xiv, xvi, xx, and xxi of the *Reports*.

[1] Conjectured by Fleet (*Ind. Ant.* xvii, 228) to belong to the region of the Narmadā; but, more probably, in the north.

country from barbarian tyranny through the protection of the gods.[1]

The western provinces.

It is evident that this great victory over the Huns must have been gained at the very beginning of the new reign; because another inscription, executed in the year 458, recites Skandagupta's defeat of the barbarians, and recognizes his undisputed possession of the peninsula of Surāshtra (Kāthiāwār), at the western extremity of the empire. The king had appointed as viceroy of the west an officer named Parnadatta, the possessor of all the virtues, according to the official poet; and the viceroy gave the responsible post of governor of the capital city, Jūnāgarh, to his own son, who distinguished his tenure of office by rebuilding the ancient embankment of the lake under the Girnār hill, which had burst with disastrous results in the year of Skandagupta's accession. The benevolent work was completed in the following year, and consecrated a year later by the erection of a costly temple of Vishnu.[2]

The eastern provinces.

The dedication three years afterwards by a private Jain donor of a sculptured column at a village in the east of the Gorakhpur district, distant about ninety miles from Patna, testifies to the fact that Skandagupta's rule at this early period of his reign included the eastern as well as the western provinces; and the record expressly characterizes the rule of the reigning sovereign as being 'tranquil'.[3]

The central provinces.

Five years later, in the year 465, a pious Brahman in the country between the Ganges and Jumna, which is now known as the Bulandshahr district, when endowing a temple to the Sun, felt justified in describing the rule of his king in the central parts of the empire as 'augmenting and victorious'.[4] The conclusion therefore is legitimate that the victory over the barbarian invaders was gained at the

[1] The column still stands at Bhitarī, in the Ghāzīpur district, to the east of Benares, but the statue has disappeared (Cunningham, *Archaeol. Rep.*, vol. i, Pl. XXIX). The inscription on the column, which records the events related in the text, has been edited and translated by Fleet (*Gupta Inscriptions*, No. 13). The allusion to the Krishna legend is interesting. See *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 976.

[2] Ibid., No. 14: *ante*, p. 130.

[3] Ibid., No. 15, the Kahāon inscription.

[4] Ibid., No. 16.

beginning of the reign, and was sufficiently decisive to secure the tranquillity of all parts of the empire for a considerable number of years.

cir. 465-70 A.D. Renewed Hun invasion.

But, about 465 A.D., a fresh swarm of nomads poured across the frontier, and occupied Gandhāra, or the north-western Panjāb, where a 'cruel and vindictive' chieftain usurped the throne of the Kushāns, and 'practised the most barbarous atrocities'.[1] A little later, about 470, the Huns advanced into the interior, and again attacked Skandagupta in the heart of his dominions. He was unable to continue the successful resistance which he had offered in the earlier days of his rule, and was forced at last to succumb to the repeated attacks of the foreigners; who were, no doubt, constantly recruited by fresh hordes eager for the plunder of India.

Debasement of the currency.

The financial distress of Skandagupta's administration is plainly indicated by the abrupt debasement of the coinage in his latter years. The gold coins of his early and prosperous days agree in both weight and fineness with those of his ancestors, but the later issues, while increased in gross weight, so as to suit the ancient Hindu standard of the *suvarna*, exhibit a decline in the amount of pure gold in each piece from 108 to 73 grains.[2] This marked lowering of the purity of the currency, which was accompanied by a corresponding degradation in the design and execution of the dies, evidently was caused by the difficulty which the treasury experienced in meeting the cost of the Hun war.

Skandagupta and Buddhism.

Skandagupta, like his grandfather and many other Indian kings of various dynasties, assumed the title of Vikramāditya.[3] Although, as has been mentioned, Chandra-gupta II has the best claim to be considered the original of the Rājā Bikram

[1] Sung-yun or Song Yun, Chinese pilgrim, 520 A.D., in Beal, *Records*, vol. i, p. c, and Chavannes's revised version (Hanoi, 1903). But the name 'Laelih', given to this chieftain by Beal, who has been copied by Cunningham and many other writers, is purely fictitious, and due to a misreading of the Turkish title *tégin* (Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 225 note).

[2] The earlier Gupta coins, like the Kushān, are Roman *aurei* in weight and to some extent in design. The later pieces are Hindu *suvarnas*, intended to weigh about 146 grains (9½ grammes) each, and are coarse in device and execution.

[3] The title is found on certain silver coins.

of popular legend, evidence exists that Skandagupta also was remembered traditionally as Vikramāditya. Paramārtha, a famous Buddhist author of the sixth century, who wrote the *Life of Vasubandhu* and translated many religious works into Chinese, gives an interesting glimpse of Skandagupta under the name of King Vikramāditya of Ajodhya. Hiuen Tsang also tells a variant form of the story, describing the king as Vikramāditya of Srāvastī.[1] It would seem that from the time of Chandra-gupta II, when the bounds of the empire were extended far to the west, Ajodhya took the place of Pātaliputra as the capital of the Gupta dominions, which, of course, included Srāvastī, situated at the base of hills to the north of Oudh. Paramārtha states that Vikramāditya of Ajodhya, who at first was a liberal patron of the Sāmkhya philosophy, which is considered to have a strong affinity to both Buddhist and Jain doctrine, was induced by the eloquence of the celebrated Vasubandhu of Peshāwar to turn a favourable ear to the teachings of Buddhism and to patronize its professors with equal liberality. The queen and Prince Bālāditya, who afterwards, about 485 A.D., succeeded to the throne as Narasimhagupta, both became disciples of Vasubandhu, and Bālāditya, after his accession, continued his favours to the Buddhist sage.[2] The coinage and official inscriptions of the Gupta kings are so distinctly Brahmanical that these statements might cause surprise, but Paramārtha, who wrote some sixty years after the death of Skandagupta, was in such a favourable position for obtaining correct information that his testimony cannot be rejected. It is fully confirmed by Hiuen Tsang, who describes Bālāditya as 'a zealous Buddhist', and reputed to be a just and benevolent ruler.[3] No doubt, both Skandagupta and his nephew Bālāditya continued to pay their devotions to the Hindu gods, while exhibiting, like Harsha in the seventh century, a strong personal predilection for Buddhist doctrine.

[1] *Watters*, i, 211; *Beal*, i, 105.

[2] Takakusu, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 44. For the Sāṁkhya system, see Colebrooke, *Essays*, i, 239; Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, p. 89.

[3] *Watters*, i, 288

The death of Skandagupta may be assumed to have occurred in or about the year 480. When he passed away, the empire perished, but the dynasty remained, and was continued in the eastern provinces for several generations. Skanda left no heir male capable of undertaking the cares of government in a time of such stress, and was accordingly succeeded on the throne of Magadha and the adjacent districts by his half-brother, Puragupta, the son of Kumāragupta I by Queen Ānanda. 480 A.D. Puragupta, acc.

The reign of this prince apparently was very brief, and the only event which can be assigned to it is a bold attempt to restore the purity of the coinage. The rare gold coins, bearing on the reverse the title Prakāsāditya, which are generally ascribed to Puragupta, although retaining the gross weight of the heavy *suvarna*, contain each 121 grains of pure gold, and are thus equal in value to the *aurei* of Augustus, and superior in intrinsic value to the best Kushān or early Gupta coins.[1] Reform of currency.

Puragupta was succeeded, about 485 A.D., by his son Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, who, as king, did not forget the Buddhist teacher to whom he had listened with pleasure while still prince. He summoned Vasubandhu from Peshāwar, to which place he had retired, and retained him at Ajodhya, where Vasubandhu died at the age of eighty. Bālāditya further gave public proof of his partiality for Buddhism by building at Nālanda, in Magadha, the principal seat of Buddhist learning in Northern India, a brick *stūpa* more than a hundred feet high (or, according to Hiuen Tsang, three hundred feet), which was remarkable for the delicacy of its decorations and the lavish use of gold and gems in its furniture.[2] The vigorous and successful action taken by Bālāditya to resist the tyranny of the Huns will be described presently (*post*, p. 300). *cir.* 485 to 535 A.D. Narasimhagupta Bālāditya.

[1] An admitted difficulty in reconciling the testimony of the inscription on the Bhitarī seal (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lviii, part i, pp. 84–105) with that of other records is best solved in the manner stated in the text. For assays of the gold coins see Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 16.

[2] Chavannes, *Religieux Éminents*, p. 94: *Watters*, ii, 170: *Beal*, ii, 173.

Inter-marriage of Kshatriyas and Brahmans.

An interesting detail in Paramārtha's narrative adds one more proof to the many facts already known which demonstrate that in ancient India the barriers between the different castes were much less rigid than they are now.[1] We are told that the husband of King Bālāditya's sister was a learned Brahman grammarian named Vasurāta, who upheld Hindu orthodoxy against the royal favourite, the Buddhist champion, Vasubandhu. The Gupta kings, whatever may have been their origin, certainly ranked as Kshatriyas and ordinarily intermarried with ruling families included in the same elastic caste, but this case proves that they were at liberty also to form matrimonial connexions with Brahmans.

cir. 535 A. D. Kumāragupta II.

Narasimhagupta Bālāditya was succeeded by his son, Kumāragupta II, to whose time the fine seal of alloyed silver found at Bhitarī in the Ghāzūpur District belongs.[2] The events of his reign, which seems to have ended about the middle of the sixth century, are not recorded. So far as is known, the line of the imperial Guptas terminates with Kumāragupta II. His dominions, like those of his father and grandfather, evidently were restricted to the eastern provinces of the empire of his earlier ancestors.

The Later Guptas of Magadha; the Maukharis.

The imperial line passes by an obscure transition into a dynasty comprising eleven Gupta princes, who appear to have been for the most part merely local rulers in Magadha. These 'Later Guptas of Magadha', as they are called by archaeologists, shared the rule of that province with another dynasty of Rājas, who had names ending in *-varman*, and belonged to a clan called Maukhari. The territorial division between the two dynasties cannot be defined precisely. Their relations with one another were sometimes friendly and sometimes hostile, but the few details known are of little importance.[3]

Chinese Buddhist mission.

The political decadence of Magadha never affected the reputation of the kingdom as the centre and head quarters of

[1] For instance, Hoernle, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 28.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, part i, vol. lviii (1889), Pl. VI.

[3] For these dynasties see Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, and Dr. Hoernle's observations on the Bhitarī seal. For newly discovered Maukhari coins, see Burn, *J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 843.

while others broke in a gate, and so saved Alexander, who had fainted.

His recovery.

The barbed arrow was withdrawn by a bold operation which involved much bleeding and threatened immediate death, but gradually Alexander's strong constitution triumphed, and the dangerous wound was healed. The infuriated troops fell upon the unfortunate inhabitants, and slew them all—sparing neither man, woman, nor child.

When convalescent, Alexander was carried to the Hydraōtes, and conveyed by boat to the junction with the Akesinēs, where he met his fleet and army, under the command respectively of Nearchos and Hephaistion.

Submission of Malloi and Oxydrakai.

The survivors of the Malloi, whose nation had felt the full weight of Alexander's hand, now tendered their humble submission, and the Oxydrakai, whom fortunate procrastination had saved, feeling that resistance would be hopeless, purchased the conqueror's clemency by offers of tribute and the delivery of valuable gifts. Alexander, stern and even cruel to those who opposed him, but always courteous and generous to the submissive, readily accepted the proposals, presents, and excuses of the tribal envoys, who are described as dignified men, of uncommon stature, clad in purple and gold, and riding in chariots. The presents are said to have included 1,030 four-horsed chariots, 1,000 bucklers of native manufacture, 100 talents of steel, great store of cotton goods, a quantity of tortoise-shells, the skins of large lizards, with tame lions and tigers, in addition to a contingent of 300 horsemen.[1]

[1] These details are taken from *Curtius*, ix, 8. Arrian (vi, 14) mentions only 500 chariots, but Curtius probably had good authority for his statement. The ancient writers describe Indian cotton as 'linen', which has never been made in India. Steel of peculiarly excellent quality has been produced in India from remote times. Curtius calls it *ferrum candidum*. Tortoise-shell (χελώνη) was still an article of Indian trade in the first century A. D. (Periplus, in *Ind. Ant.* viii, 111). The statement of Curtius (ix, 7) that Alexander imposed upon the Malloi and Oxydrakai 'the tribute which the two nations paid in instalments to the Arachosians' is unintelligible; and the name 'Arachosians' must be corrupt. Arachosia, the Kandahār country, cannot possibly have levied tribute from tribes in the Eastern Panjāb. Bacon makes a curious and inaccurate allusion to the Oxydrakai in his essay 'On the Vicissitudes of Things', quoting loosely from

of foreign origin, established himself at Valabhī in the east of the peninsula of Surāshtra (Kāthiāwār), and founded a dynasty which lasted until about 770 A.D., when it was overthrown by Arab invaders from Sind. The earlier kings of Valabhī do not appear to have been independent, and were doubtless obliged to pay tribute to the Huns; but, after the destruction of the Hun domination, the lords of Valabhī asserted their independence, and made themselves a considerable power in the west of India, both on the mainland and in the peninsula of Surāshtra. The city was a place of great wealth when visited by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, and was famous in Buddhist church history as having been the residence of two distinguished teachers, Gunamati and Sthiramati, in the sixth century. I-tsing, a junior contemporary of Hiuen Tsang, tells us that in his time Nālanda in Bihār and Valabhī were the two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China, and were frequented by crowds of eager students, who commonly devoted two or three years to attendance at lectures on Buddhist philosophy. This statement explains the assertion of Hiuen Tsang that Mo-la-p'o, or Western Mālava, and Magadha were the two countries of India in which learning was prized, because Valabhī and Mo-la-p'o were then politically one, both territories apparently being under the government of Dhruvabhata, the son-in-law of King Harsha, paramount sovereign of Northern India. After the overthrow of Valabhī, its place as the chief city of Western India was taken by Anhilwāra (Nahrwālah, or Pātan), which retained that honour until the fifteenth century, when it was superseded by Ahmadābād.[1] The above observations will, perhaps, suffice to give the reader a notion of the way in which some of the fragments of the

[1] The ruins of Valabhī at Walā, eighteen or twenty miles north-west of Bhāonagar, are mostly underground. The history is given by Burgess in *A. S. W. I.*, vol. ii (1876), pp. 80–6; and by Bhagwān Lal Indraji and Jackson in *Bomb. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part i, pp. 78–106. The latest dynastic list is that in Kielhorn's 'Supplement to List of Northern Inscriptions', p. 11 (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, April, 1905). For approximate date of destruction of Valabhī see Burgess, *A. S. W. I.*, vol. vi, p 3; vol. ix, p. 4.

Gupta empire were apportioned among various native dynasties.

But the Huns, the foreign savages who shattered that empire, and dominated a large part of it for a short period, merit more explicit notice. The nomad tribes known as Huns, when they moved westwards from the steppes of Asia to seek subsistence for their hungry multitudes in other climes, divided into two main streams, one directed towards the valley of the Oxus, and the other to that of the Volga. Two streams of Hun migration.

The latter poured into Eastern Europe in 375 A. D., forcing the Goths to the south of the Danube, and thus indirectly causing the sanguinary Gothic war, which cost the Emperor Valens his life in 378 A. D. The Huns quickly spread over the lands between the Volga and the Danube; but, owing to chronic disunion and the lack of a great leader, failed to make full use of their advantageous position, until Attila appeared, and for a few years welded the savage mass into an instrument of such power that he was 'able to send equal defiance to the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople'.[1] The Huns in Europe; Attila.

His death, in 453 A. D., severed the only bond which held together the jealous factions of the horde, and within a space of twenty years after that event the Hunnic empire in Europe was extinguished by a fresh torrent of barbarians from Northern Asia. *cir.* 470 A. D.

The Asiatic domination of the Huns lasted longer. The section of the horde which settled in the Oxus valley, and perhaps differed in race, became known as the Ephthalites or White Huns, and gradually overcame the resistance of Persia, which ceased when King Fīrōz was killed in 484 A. D. Swarms of these White Huns also assailed the Kushān kingdom of Kābul, and thence poured into India. The attack repelled by Skandagupta in 455 A. D. must have been delivered by a comparatively weak body, which arrived early, and failed to effect a lodgement in the interior. 455-84 A. D. White Huns of Oxus valley.

About ten years later the nomads appeared in greater force and overwhelmed the kingdom of Gandhāra, or Peshāwar; and starting from that base, as already related, 500 A. D. Toramāṇa.

[1] *Gibbon*, ch. xxxv

penetrated into the heart of the Gangetic provinces, and overthrew the Gupta empire.[1] The collapse of Persian opposition in 484 must have greatly facilitated the eastern movement of the horde, and allowed immense multitudes to cross the Indian frontier. The leader in this invasion of India, which, no doubt, continued for years, was a chieftain named Toramāna, who is known to have been established as ruler of Mālwā in Central India prior to 500 A. D. He assumed the style and titles of an Indian 'sovereign of *mahārājas*'; and Bhānugupta, as well as the king of Valabhī, and many other local princes, must have been his tributaries.[2]

cir. 510 A. D. Mihiragula, acc

When Toramāna died, about 510 A. D., the Indian dominion which he had acquired was consolidated sufficiently to pass to his son Mihiragula, whose capital in India was Sākala, the modern Siālkot, in the Panjāb.[3]

Extent of Hun empire in Asia

But India at this time was only one province of the Hun empire. The head quarters of the horde were at Bāmyin in Bādhaghīs near Herāt, and the ancient city of Balkh served as a secondary capital.[4] The Hun king, whose court, whether at Bāmyin or Herāt cannot be determined, was visited by Song-Yun, the Chinese pilgrim-envoy in 519 A. D., was a powerful monarch levying tribute from forty countries, extending from the frontier of Persia, on the west, to Khotan on the borders of China in the east. This king was either Mihiragula himself, or his contemporary overlord, more

[1] *Ante*, p. 291.

[2] Three inscriptions naming Toramāṇa are known; namely, (1) at Ēraṇ, in Sāgar district, Central Provinces, dated in the first year of his reign (Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.*, No. 36); (2) at Kura in the Salt Range, of which the date is lost (*Ep. Ind.*, i, 238); and (3) at Gwālior, Central India, dated in the fifteenth year of Mihiragula, son of Toramāṇa (*Fleet*, No. 37). The silver coins of Toramāṇa, which imitate the Surāshtran coins of the western satraps and Guptas, are dated in the year 52, which apparently must be reckoned from a special Hun era, probably beginning about 448 A.D. (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxiii, part i (1894), p. 195).

[3] The name of Mihiragula also appears in the Sanskritized form of Mihirakula. His coins are numerous at Chiniōt and Shāhkōṭ, situated respectively in the Gujrānwāla and Jhang Districts. The coins of Toramāṇa and Mihiragula are fully described in *J. A. S. B.*, 1894, part i.

[4] Chavannes, *Turcs Occidentaux*, pp. 224, 226. Gurgān (Gorgō), often asserted to be the Ephthalite capital, really was a frontier town belonging to Persia (Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 223, 235 note).

probably the latter. The local Hun king of Gandhāra, to whom Song-Yun paid his respects in the following year, 520 A. D., must be identified with Mihiragula. He was then engaged in a war with the king of Kashmīr (Ki-pin), which had already lasted for three years.[1]

Gollas.

With reference apparently to the same date approximately, the monk Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote a curious book in 547 A. D., describes a White Hun king, whom he calls Gollas, as being lord of India, from which he exacted tribute by oppression, enforcing his demands with the aid of two thousand war elephants and a great host of cavalry. This king, Gollas, certainly must have been Mihiragula.[2]

Tyranny of Mihiragula.

All Indian traditions agree in representing Mihiragula as a bloodthirsty tyrant, 'the Attila of India,' stained to a more than ordinary degree with the 'implacable cruelty' noted by historians as characteristic of the Hun temperament.[3] Indian authors having omitted to give any detailed description of the savage invaders who ruthlessly oppressed their country for three-quarters of a century, recourse must be had to European writers to obtain a picture of the devastation wrought and the terror caused to settled communities by the fierce barbarians.

Description of the Huns.

The original accounts are well summarized by Gibbon:—

'The numbers, the strength, the rapid motions, and the implacable cruelty of the Huns were felt, and dreaded, and magnified by the astonished Goths; who beheld their fields and villages consumed with flames, and deluged with indiscriminate slaughter. To these real terrors, they added the surprise and abhorrence which were excited by the shrill voice, the uncouth gestures, and the strange deformity of the Huns. . . . They were distinguished from the rest of the human species by their broad shoulders, flat noses, and small black eyes, deeply buried in the head; and, as they were

[1] Beal, *Records*, vol. i, pp. xci, c. The name Lae-lih, given by Beal, is, as already noted, fictitious (*ante*, p. 291 n.). In the time of Song-Yun Ki-pin usually signified Kashmīr. In the seventh century Ki-pin, ordinarily, though not invariably, meant Kapiśa, or north eastern Afghanistan (Chavannes, *Song Yun*, pp. 37, 39).

[2] McCrindle's translation (Hakluyt Society, 1897), p. 597.

[3] Hiuen Tsang; *Rājataraṅginī*; Tāranāth (p. 94, 'the Turushka king').

almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed the manly graces of youth or the venerable aspect of age.'[1]

The Indians, like the Goths, experienced to the full the miseries of savage warfare, and suffered an added horror by reason of the special disgust felt by fastidious, caste-bound Hindus at the repulsive habits of barbarians to whom nothing was sacred.

Cir. 528 A. D. Defeat of Mihiragula.

The cruelty practised by Mihiragula became so unbearable that the native princes, under the leadership of Bālāditya, king of Magadha (the same as Narasimhagupta), and Yasodharman, a Rāja of Central India, formed a confederacy against the foreign tyrant. About the year 528 A. D., they accomplished the delivery of their country from oppression by inflicting a decisive defeat on Mihiragula, who was taken prisoner, and would have forfeited his life deservedly, but for the magnanimity of Bālāditya, who spared the captive, and sent him to his home in the north with all honour.

Mihiragula in Kashmīr.

Meanwhile, Mihiragula's younger brother had taken advantage of the misfortunes of the head of the family to usurp the throne of Sākala, which he was unwilling to surrender. Mihiragula, after spending some time in concealment, took refuge in Kashmīr, where he was kindly received by the king, who placed him in charge of a small territory. The exile submitted to this enforced retirement for a few years, and then took an opportunity to rebel and seize the throne of his benefactor. Having succeeded in this enterprise, he attacked the neighbouring kingdom of Gandhāra. The king, perhaps himself a Hun, was treacherously surprised and slain, the royal family was exterminated, and multitudes of people were slaughtered on the banks of the Indus. The savage invader, who worshipped as his patron deity Siva, the god of destruction, exhibited ferocious hostility against the peaceful Buddhist cult, and remorselessly overthrew the *stūpas* and monasteries, which he plundered of their treasures.

[1] *Gibbon*, ch. xxvi.

But he did not long enjoy his ill-gotten gains. Before the year was out he died; and 'at the time of his death there were thunder and hail and a thick darkness, and the earth shook, and a mighty tempest raged. And the holy saints said in pity: "For having killed countless victims and overthrown the law of Buddha, he has now fallen into the lowest hell, where he shall pass endless ages of revolution"'. Thus the tyrant met the just reward of his evil deeds in another world, if not in this. The date of his death is not known exactly, but the event must have occurred in or about the year 540, just a century before Hiuen Tsang was on his travels. The rapidity of the growth of the legend concerning the portents attending the tyrant's death is good evidence of the depth of the impression made by his outlandish cruelty; which is further attested by the Kashmīr tale of the fiendish pleasure which he is believed to have taken in rolling elephants down a precipice.[1]

Death of Mihiragula.

Yasodharman, the Central Indian Rāja, who has been mentioned as having taken an active part in the confederacy formed to obtain deliverance from the tyranny of Mihiragula, is known from three inscriptions only, and is not mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, who gives the sole credit for the victory over the Huns to Bālāditya, king of Magadha. Yasodharman took the honour to himself, and erected two columns of victory inscribed with boasting words to commemorate the defeat of the foreign invaders. In these records he claims to have brought under his sway lands which even the Guptas and Huns could not subdue, and to have been master of Northern India from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean, and from the Himalaya to Mount Mahendra, in Ganjām. But the indefinite expression of the boasts and the silence of

Yasodharman.

[1] Hiuen Tsang, in Beal, *Records*, vol. i, pp. 165–72: *Watters*, I, 1, 288. It is not easy to explain why the pilgrim alleges (p. 167) that Mihiragula lived 'some centuries' before his time. The Chinese words, *sho-pih-nien-tsin*, are said not to be capable of any other interpretation (Beal, *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 345). Watters is inclined to think that the tale told by Hiuen Tsang refers to a Mihirakula of much earlier date. Dr. Fleet suggests that there may be an error in the Chinese text. Hiuen Tsang's travels extended from 629 to 645. For the Kashmīr legends see Stein, transl. *Rājat.*, bk. i, pp. 289–325.

Hiuen Tsang suggest that Yasodharman made the most of his achievements, and that his court poet gave him something more than his due of praise. Nothing whatever is known about either his ancestry, or his successors; his name stands absolutely alone and unrelated. The belief, therefore, is warranted that his reign was short, and of much less importance than that claimed for it by his magniloquent inscriptions.[1]

cir. 565 A. D. Fall of the Hun empire in Asia.

The dominion of the White Huns in the Oxus valley did not long survive the defeat and death of Mihiragula in India. The arrival of the Turks in the middle of the sixth century changed the situation completely. The Turkish tribes, having vanquished a rival horde called Joan-joan, made an alliance with Khusrū Anūshīrvān, king of Persia, grandson of Fīrōz, who had been killed by the Huns in 484 A. D., and at some date between 563 and 567 the allies destroyed the White Huns. For a short time the Persians held Balkh and other portions of the Hun territory; but the gradual weakening of the Sassanian power soon enabled the Turks to extend their authority towards the south as far as Kapisa, and annex the whole of the countries which had been included in the Hun empire.[2]

Connotation of Hūna.

In later Sanskrit literature the term 'Hun' (*Hūna*) is employed in a very indeterminate sense to denote a foreigner from the north-west, in the same way as the word *Yavana* had been employed in ancient times, and as *Wilāyatī* is now understood. One of the thirty-six so-called 'royal' Rājpūt clans actually was given the name of Hūna.[3] This vagueness of connotation raises some doubt as to the exact meaning of the term Hūna as applied to the clans on the north-western frontier against whom Harsha of Thānēsar and his father waged incessant war at the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. But it is unlikely that within fifty years of Mihiragula's defeat the true meaning of Hūna should have been forgotten; and the opponents of

[1] Inscriptions Nos. 33, 34, 35 in Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*.

[2] Chavannes, op. cit., pp. 226-9.

[3] Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, i, 225: Sylvain Lévi, *Notes chinoises sur l'Inde*, No. iii, 'La Date de Candragomin' (Hanoi, 1903), p. 25.

Harsha may be regarded as having been outlying colonies of real Huns, who had settled among the hills on the frontier.

The Gurjaras.

The Hūnas are often mentioned in books and inscriptions in connexion with the Gurjaras, whose name survives in the modern Gūjars, a caste widely distributed in north-western India. The early Gurjaras seem to have been foreign immigrants, closely associated with, and possibly allied in blood to the White Huns. They founded a considerable kingdom in Rājputāna, the capital of which was Bhīnmāl or Srīmāl, about fifty miles to the north-west of Mount Abū. The minor Gurjara kingdom of Broach (Bharōch) was an offshoot of this kingdom, which conquered Kanauj at the beginning of the ninth century. The story of the Gurjara-Pratihāra (Gūjar-Parihār) kingdom of Kanauj will be told in the fourteenth chapter.

Origin of the Rājpūt clans.

In this place I desire to draw attention to the fact, long suspected and now established by good evidence, that the foreign immigrants into Rājputāna and the upper Gangetic provinces were not utterly destroyed in the course of their wars with the native powers. Many, of course, perished, but many more survived, and were merged in the general population, of which no inconsiderable part is now formed by their descendants. The foreigners universally yielded, like their forerunners the Sakas and Yueh-chi, to the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism, and rapidly became Hinduized. Clans or families which succeeded in winning chieftainship were admitted readily into the frame of Hindu polity as Kshatriyas or Rājpūts, and there is no doubt that the Parihārs and many other famous Rājpūt clans of the north were developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rank and file of the strangers became Gūjars and other castes, a little lower than the Rājpūts in the scale of precedence. Further to the south, various indigenous, or 'aboriginal', tribes and clans underwent the same process of Hinduized social promotion, in virtue of which Gonds, Bhars, Kharwārs, and so forth emerged as Chandēls, Rāthōrs, Gaharwārs, and other well-known Rājpūt clans, duly equipped with pedigrees

reaching back to the sun and moon. The process will be discussed further and illustrated in some detail when I come to deal with the mediaeval dynasties of the north.

Exemption of India from foreign attack.

The extinction of the Ephthalite power on the Oxus necessarily dried up, or at least greatly contracted, the stream of barbarian immigration into India, which enjoyed almost complete immunity from foreign attack for nearly five centuries after the defeat of Mihiragula.[1] The following chapters will tell how she made use, or failed to make use, of the opportunity thus afforded for internal development unchecked by foreign aggression.

Second half of sixth century almost a blank.

Very little is known about the history of India during the second half of the sixth century. It is certain that no paramount power existed, and that all the states of the Gangetic plain had suffered severely from the ravages of the Huns and connected tribes; but, excepting bare catalogues of names in certain local dynastic lists, few facts of general interest have been recorded.

Mo-la-p'o

One of the many states into which India was divided during those troublous times deserves special notice, because the brief reference to its affairs by Hiuen Tsang has given occasion for much discussion and some misunderstanding. In 641, or early in 642 A. D., the pilgrim, after leaving Bharōch (Broach), travelled in a north-westerly direction for a considerable distance, apparently overstated in the Chinese text, until he arrived in a country called Mo-la-p'o, a name phonetically equivalent to Mālava. The unnamed capital, which was situated to the south-east of a great river, or, according to another reading, of the Mahi, has not been identified. Although it is impossible to reconcile all the data given in the pilgrim's text, and several details are open to controversy, it is clear that the kingdom or country of Mo-la-p'o essentially comprised the basins of the Mahi and Sabarmati rivers,

[1] Defeat of Mihiragula about 528 A. D.; permanent occupation of the Panjāb by Mahmūd of Ghaznī 1023 A. D. The Arab conquest of Sind, in the eighth century, was an isolated operation, producing little impression on the rest of India. If any incursions by nomads occurred during the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, they have not been recorded

both of which discharge their waters into the Gulf of Cambey. The country was bounded on the north by the Gurjara kingdom of Bhīnmāl, on the north-west by the subordinate principality or province of Ānandapura (Varnagar), and on the east by the kingdom (Avanti or Eastern Mālwā), of which Ujjain was the capital. The river Chambal may be assumed to have been the boundary between Mo-la-p'o and the Ujjain territory. Besides Ānandapura, two other countries, Ki-t'a or Ki-ch'a, and Su-la-ch'a or Su-la-tha were dependencies of Mo-la-p'o. The latter dependency certainly is to be identified with Soratha (Surāshtra), or Southern Kāthiāwār. The identity of the former is disputed—some good authorities holding the Chinese name to mean the Kaira (Kheḍa, Kheṭaka) District, while others believe it to mean Kachchh (Cutch).

Dhruvabhaṭa. The territory of Valabhī (Walā) in Eastern Kāthiāwār, which intervened between Mo-la-p'o and Surāshtra, had a king of its own, Dhruvabhata by name, who was the son-in-law of Harsha (Sīlāditya), paramount sovereign of Northern India. Some years before the pilgrim's visit, Dhruvabhata had been defeated by Harsha, and the matrimonial alliance seems to have been one of the arrangements made when peace was declared. In 643-4, when Harsha held the solemn assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga (Allāhābād), in which Hiuen Tsang took part, the Rāja of Valabhī attended as a vassal or feudatory prince in the train of his father-in-law. The pilgrim does not say a word about the nature of the government of Mo-la-p'o and its three dependencies, Ananda-pura, Surāshtra, and (?) Cutch, the reason apparently being that all these countries were administered on behalf of Harsha, whose father had fought the king of Mālava, perhaps Mo-la-p'o, at the close of the sixth century. The fact that Dhruvabhata is named as the Rāja or king of the Valabhī territory interposed between Mo-la-p'o and its dependency, Surāshtra, can be explained by assuming that Harsha (Sīlāditya) purposely allowed his son-in-law to occupy a semi-independent position, governing not only Valabhī, but also Mo-la-p'o and its dependencies.

Śīlāditya, king of Mo-la-p'o. Study of the local records drew the attention of Hiuen Tsang to the history of Dhruvabhata's uncle, also named Sīlāditya, who had been king of Mo-la-p'o sixty years before. This prince was famed as having been a man of eminent wisdom and great learning, a zealous Buddhist, and so careful to preserve animal life that he caused the drinking water for his horses and elephants to be strained, lest perchance any creature living in the water should be injured. By the side of his palace he had built a Buddhist temple, remarkable for its artistic design and rich ornament, in which the images of the Seven Buddhas were enshrined. It was his custom to hold a grand assembly every year, at which the canonical dues and gifts were presented to the monks with liberality. This pious practice had been continued for successive generations to the time of Hiuen Tsang's visit.

Śīlāditya-Dharmāditya of Mo-la-p'o. M. Sylvain Lévi seems to be right in identifying this religious monarch with Sīlāditya I, surnamed Dharmāditya, 'the Sun of Piety,' of the Valabhī dynasty, who reigned from about 595 to 610 or 615 A.D.; for, although those dates do not agree exactly with the indications given by Hiuen Tsang, it is certain that Dhruvabhata, the reigning Rāja of Valabhī was a nephew of Sīlāditya Dharmāditya, while Hiuen Tsang states that he was the nephew of the pious Sīlāditya, the former king of Mo-la-p'o. The apparently necessary inference is that Sīlāditya Dharmāditya was king of Mo-la-p'o by conquest in addition to his ancestral realm of Valabhī. Both territories subsequently were conquered by Harsha, and became subject to him as their suzerain.

Mo-la-p'o distinct from Ujjain. The serious misunderstanding of the story above alluded to consisted in the erroneous belief held by Mr. Beal and several other writers that Mo-la-p'o, or Western Mālava, was identical with the kingdom of Ujjain, otherwise known as Avanti or Eastern Mālava. Mr. Beal actually designated Sīlāditya of Mo-la-p'o as 'Sīlāditya of Ujjain', forgetting that Hiuen Tsang described the territory of Ujjain as a separate kingdom equal in size to Mo-la-p'o, and in his time ruled by a Brahman Rāja. Sīlāditya, the former Rāja of Valabhī and Mo-la-p'o, was considered to be a Kshatriya, and there

is no reason to suppose that he had anything to do with Ujjain.

Harsha (Sīlāditya), of Kanauj, is described by his friend Hiuen Tsang as being of the Vaisya caste, but he seems to have taken rank as a Kshatriya. The erroneous identification of Mo-la-p'o with the kingdom of Ujjain has given rise to much confusion in the treatment of the history of Harsha's period, and the main purpose of the observations made in the first edition of this work was the rectification of that embarrassing error. Those observations, which were themselves erroneous in certain respects, have now been corrected in the light of subsequent criticism and discussion.[1]

[1] It is impossible to discuss the Mo-la-p'o problem fully within the limits of a note. References are:—Hiuen Tsang (*Beal*, ii, pp. 260–70; *Watters*, ii, pp. 242–8); Cunningham, *Anc. Geogr.*, pp. 489–94; Stein, *transl. Rājatar.*, vol. i, p. 66; Max Muller, *India, What can it Teach us*, p. 288; Hoernle (*J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 553); Vincent Smith (*Z. D. M. G.*, 1904, pp. 787–96); Burn (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 837); Grierson (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 95); Burgess (ibid., p. 220; *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 195); Sylvain Lévi (*Journal des Savants*, Oct., 1905, pp. 544–8). The text, which differs from that in the first edition, is based on consideration of all the above-mentioned publications. Some special points may be noted. The area of the country, on which Mr. Grierson lays stress, seems to have been over-estimated by Hiuen Tsang. It did not include Bhīnmāl (Bhīlmāl, Bhīnamāla, Bhillamāla, also called Śrīmāl), representing P'i-lo-mo-lo, the capital of Ku-che-lo (Gūjara), the Gurjara kingdom of Rājputāna; nor did it include Ujjain, N. lat. 23° 11′ 10″, E. long. 75° 51′ 45″, which was the capital of a separate kingdom (Avanti). Three texts of Hiuen Tsang give the name or epithet of the river as *Mo-ha*, = *mahī*, 'great'; only the D text, which M. Lévi follows, reads *Mo-hi*, = *Mahi* (*Watters*). The bearings indicate that the river meant was the Sabarmatī rather than the Mahi. The identification of Ānandapura with Varnagar is fully proved. Ki-t'a or Ki-ch'a is a good phonetic equivalent for Kheṭa (Kheṭaka, Kheḍa), the modern 'Kaira' District, but St. Martin, Julien, and Watters prefer to identify it with Kachchh (Cutch), and I am disposed to agree with them. The identity of Su-la-ch'a or Su-la-tha with Soratha or Surāshtra, Southern Kāṭhīāwāṛ, is established by the mention of the hill Yuh-shan-to, or Yhu-shen-to, = Ujjanta (Ujjayanta, Ujjinta), = Girnār. Dhruvabhata was the son-in-law of Harsha (Śīlāditya), not of his son (*Watters*, ii, 247). P'i-lo-mo-lo = Bhilmala (*Watters*, ii, 250). For dates of Hiuen Tsang's visits to Mo-la-p'o, &c., see 'Itinerary' in *Watters*, ii, 335.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE GUPTA PERIOD

DATE A. D	EVENT.	REMARKS.
cir. 308 . .	Lichchhavi marriage of Chandra-gupta I	
320 . . .	Chandra-gupta I acc. to independent power	Foundation of Gupta Era, of which year 1 began February 26, 320
cir. 326 . . .	Samudragupta acc.	
cir. 330 . . .	Embassy from King Meghavarna of Ceylon	
cir. 326-36 . .	Campaigns in Northern India	
cir. 337-40 . .	Campaign in Southern India	
cir. 341 . .	Horse-sacrifice	
cir. 375 . . .	Chandra-gupta II acc.	
cir. 395 . .	Conquest of Western India	
401	Udayagiri inscription	G. E. 82
405-11 . . .	Travels of Fa-hien in Gupta empire	,, 86 92
407	Garhwā inscription	,, 88
409	Silver coins of western type	,, 90
412	Sāñchī inscription	,, 93
413	Kumāragupta I acc.	,, 94
415	Bilsar inscription	,, 96
417 . . .	Garhwā inscription	,, 98
432	Mathurā inscription	,, 113
436 . .	Mandasōr inscription	V.S. 493 (= G. E. 117)
440 . . .	Silver coins	G. E. 121
443 . . .	Silver coins	,, 124
447	Silver coins	,, 128
448	Silver coins and Mankuwār inscriptions	,, 129
449	Silver coins	,, 130
cir. 450 . . .	Pushyamitra war	,, 131
454 . . .	Silver coins	,, 135
455	Silver coins	,, 136
455	Skandagupta acc. ; first Hun war	,, 136
456 . . .	Embankment of lake at Girnār rebuilt	,, 137
457	Temple erected there	,, 138
460 . . .	Kahāon inscription (Gōrakhpur District)	,, 141
463	Silver coins	,, 144
464	Silver coins	,, 145
465	Indōr inscription (Bulandshahr District)	,, 146
467	Silver coins	,, 148
cir. 470-80 . .	Second Hun war	,, 151-61
477	Pālī inscription (*Ep. Ind.* ii. 363)	,, 158
cir. 480 . .	Puragupta (? Prakāśāditya) acc.	
cir. 485 . . .	Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya acc.	
cir. 530 . .	Kumāragupta II acc.	
520	Song-Yun visited White Hun king of Gandhāra	
cir. 535 to 720 .	Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha	
cir. 490 to 770 .	Dynasty of Valabhī	
cir. 490 to 510 .	Toramāṇa	
cir. 510 to 540 .	Mihiragula	Defeated *cir.* 528
cir. 595 to 615 .	Śīlāditya of Mo-la-p'o and Valabhī	

CHAPTER XIII

THE REIGN OF HARSHA FROM 606 TO 648 A.D.

Seventh century, sources of history.

THE deficiency of material which embarrasses the historian when dealing with the latter half of the sixth century is no longer experienced when he enters upon the seventh. For this period he is fortunate enough to possess, in addition to the ordinary epigraphic and numismatic sources, two contemporary literary works, which shed much light upon the political condition of India generally, and supply, in particular, abundant and trustworthy information concerning the reign of Harsha, who ruled the North as paramount sovereign for more than forty years. The first of these works is the invaluable book of travels compiled by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who visited almost every part of India between 630 and 644 A.D., and recorded observations more or less minute about each state and province. The narrative in the *Travels* is supplemented by the pilgrim's biography, written by his friend Hwui-li, which supplies many additional details. The second work alluded to is the historical romance entitled 'The Deeds of Harsha' (*Harsha-charita*), composed by Bāna, a Brahman author who lived at the court, and enjoyed the patronage of the hero of his tale. Further information of much interest and importance is given by the official Chinese histories; and when all sources are utilized, our knowledge of the events of the reign of Harsha far surpasses in precision that which we possess respecting any other early Indian king, except Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka.

Rāja Prabhākaravardhana of Thānēsar.

From remote ages the country surrounding the city of Thānēsar (Sthānvīsvara)[1] has been holy ground, known as the

[1] *Sthāṇvīśvara*, from *Sthāṇu*, a name of Siva, locally used, and *īśvara*, 'lord' (*Bāṇa*). The name is also spelt *Sthāneśvara*, from *sthāna*, 'shrine,' and *īśvara*.

'Land of Kuru', and famous as the battle-field of legendary heroes. In the latter part of the sixth century, the Rāja of Thānēsar, Prabhākara-vardhana by name, had raised himself to considerable eminence by successful wars against his neighbours, including the Mālavas, the Hun settlements in the north-western Panjāb, and the Gurjaras of Rājputāna.[1] The fact that his mother was a princess of Gupta lineage no doubt both stimulated his ambition and aided its realization.[2]

His war with the Huns.

In the year 604, this energetic Rāja had dispatched his elder son Rājya-vardhana, a youth just entering upon manhood, with a large army to attack the Huns on the north-western frontier; while his younger and favourite son, Harsha, four years junior to the Crown Prince, followed his brother with a cavalry force at a considerable interval. The elder prince having advanced into the hills to seek the enemy, the younger lingered in the forests at the foot of the mountains to enjoy the sport of all kinds which they offered in abundance.

605 A.D. Rājya-vardhana acc.

While thus pleasantly employed, Harsha, who was then a lad fifteen years of age, received news that his father lay dangerously ill with a violent fever. He returned to the capital with all speed, where he found the king in a hopeless condition. The disease quickly ran its course, and all was over long before the elder son, who had been victorious in his campaign, could return to claim his birthright. There are indications that a party at court inclined to favour the succession of the younger prince; but all intrigues were frustrated by the return of Rājya-vardhana, who ascended the throne in due course. He had hardly seated himself when news arrived which compelled him again to take the field.

[1] I think that Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar is right in interpreting the Gurjaras who opposed Prabhākara-vardhana as being those who held the state in Rājputāna of which the capital was Bhīnmāl (*J.Bo.R.A.S*, vol. xx (1903), 'Gūrjaras'). I agree with Mr. Jackson that Bhīnmāl was the capital of the Gurjara kingdom.

[2] The family genealogy is given in the inscriptions, viz. (1) Sonpat seal (*Gupta. Inscr.*, No. 52); (2) Banskhera copper-plate (*Ep. Ind.*, iv, 208); (3) Madhuban copper-plate (ibid., i, 67). Mahāsena-guptā was the mother of Prabhākara-vardhana, who was also called Pratāpaśīla. His queen was Yaśomatī. Harsha's full name was Harsha-vardhana.

A courier brought the distressing intelligence that Graha-varman Maukhari, king of Kanauj, and husband of Rājyasrī, sister of the princes, had been slain by the king of Mālwā,[1] who cruelly misused the princess, 'confining her like a brigand's wife, with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet.' The young king, resolute to avenge his sister's wrongs, started at once with a mobile force of ten thousand cavalry; leaving the elephants and heavy troops behind in his brother's charge. The king of Mālwā was defeated with little effort, but the joy of victory was turned into sorrow by the receipt of intelligence that the victor had been treacherously slain by an ally of the Mālwan king, Sasānka, king of Central Bengal,[2] who had inveigled Rājya-vardhana by fair promises to a conference, and had assassinated him when off his guard. Harsha was further informed that his widowed sister had escaped from confinement, and fled to the Vindhyan forests for refuge; but no certain news of her hiding-place could be obtained. War with Mālwā.

The murdered king was too young to leave a son capable of assuming the cares of government, and the nobles seem to have hesitated before offering the crown to his youthful brother. But the disorder and anarchy from which the country suffered during the interregnum forced the councillors of state to come to a decision concerning the succession. The ministers, acting on the advice of Bhandi, a slightly senior cousin, who had been educated with the young princes, ultimately resolved to invite Harsha to undertake the responsibilities of the royal office. For some reason, which is not apparent on the face of the story, he scrupled to express his consent, and it is said that he consulted a Buddhist oracle before accepting the invitation. Even when his reluctance, whether sincere or pretended, had been overcome by the favourable response of the oracle, he still sought to propitiate Nemesis by abstaining at first from the assumption 606 A. D. Harsha acc.

[1] Doubts have been expressed as to the situation of the Mālwā (Mālava) referred to. Perhaps it was Mo-la-p'o.

[2] Gauda (*Bāna*); Karṇa-suvarṇa (*Hiuen Tsang*); of which the capital is represented by Rangāmāṭī, twelve miles south of Murshīdābād (*J. A. S. B.*, lxii, pt. i (1893), pp. 315–28).

of the kingly style, modestly designating himself as Prince Sīlāditya.

Era of Harsha

These curious details indicate clearly that some unknown obstacle stood in the way of Harsha's accession, and compelled him to rely for his title to the crown upon election by the nobles rather than upon his hereditary claims. There is reason to suppose that Harsha did not boldly stand forth as avowed king until 612 A.D., when he had been five and a half or six years on the throne, and that his formal coronation or consecration took place in that year. The era called after his name, of which the year 1 was 606–7 A.D., dated from the time of his accession in October, 606.[1]

Whatever may have been the motives which influenced the nobles of Thānēsar in their hesitation to offer their allegiance to young Harsha, the advice of Bhandi was justified abundantly by the ability of his nominee, who quickly proved his right to rule.

Recovery of Rājyaśrī.

The immediate duties incumbent upon him obviously were the pursuit of his brother's murderer, and the recovery of his widowed sister. The latter task, being the more urgent, was undertaken in all haste, even at the cost of permitting the assassin's escape. The haste shown was none too great; for the princess, despairing of rescue, was on the point of burning herself alive with her attendants, when her brother, guided by aboriginal chiefs, succeeded in tracing her in the depths of the Vindhyan jungles. The details of the campaign against Sasānka have not been recorded, and it seems clear that he escaped with little loss. He is known to have been still in power as late as the year 619; but his kingdom probably became subject to Harsha at a later date.[2]

[1] Kielhorn (*Ind. Ant.* xxvi, 32). Twenty inscriptions dated in the Harsha era are known (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, App. Nos. 528–47). When Hiuen Tsang was with Harsha, in 643–4 A.D., the king's reign was reckoned as having lasted for more than thirty years (*Records*, i, 213; 'lord of India for thirty years and more,' *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 183). The quinquennial assembly in the spring of 644 A.D. was the sixth held in the reign (Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 184). The period of five and a half years (*Julien*), or six years (*Watters*), spent in the preliminary subjugation of the north is not included in this computation.

[2] Ganjām copper-plate inscription, dated G.E. 300, 619–20 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.* vi, 143). Hiuen Tsang

Harsha's scheme of conquest

Harsha, having recovered his sister—a young lady of exceptional attainments, learned in the doctrines of the Sammitīya school of Buddhism—devoted his signal ability and energy to the prosecution of a methodical scheme of conquest, with the deliberate purpose of bringing all India 'under one umbrella'. He possessed at this stage of his career a force of 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry, and 50,000 infantry. Apparently he discarded as useless the chariots, which constituted, according to ancient tradition, the fourth arm of a regularly organized Indian host; although they were still used in some parts of the country.[1]

Thirty-five years' war.

With this mobile and formidable force Harsha overran Northern India; and, in the picturesque language of his contemporary the Chinese pilgrim, 'he went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient; the elephants were not unharnessed, nor the soldiers unhelmeted.' By the end of five and a half years the conquest of the north-western regions, and probably also of a large portion of Bengal, was completed; and his military resources were so increased that he was able to put in the field 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry. He then reigned happily for thirty-six years longer, and during that period devoted most of his immense energy to the government of his extensive dominions. His last recorded campaign, an attack on the sturdy inhabitants of Ganjām, on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, took place in 643 A.D.

Defeat by Pulakēśin II, Chalukya. 620 A.D.

His long career of victory was broken by one failure. Pulakēsin II, the greatest of the Chalukya dynasty, whose achievements will be noticed more fully in a later chapter,[2] vied with Harsha in the extent of his conquests, and had raised himself to the rank of lord paramount of the South, as Harsha was of the North. The northern king could not willingly endure the existence of so powerful a rival, and essayed to overthrow him, advancing in person to the attack, with 'troops from the five Indies and the best generals from

refers to Śaśānka as a recent king, and mentions no successor.

[1] In his general description of India, Hiuen Tsang tells how the general of an Indian army rode in a four-horsed chariot, protected by a body-guard (Beal, *Records*, i, 82).

[2] Chapter xv.

all countries'. But the effort failed. The king of the Deccan guarded the passes on the Narmadā so effectually that Harsha was constrained to retire discomfited, and to accept that river as his frontier. This campaign may be dated about the year 620 A. D.[1]

War with Valabhī.

The war with Valabhī, which resulted in the complete defeat of Dhruvasena (Dhruvabhata) II, and the flight of that prince into the dominions of the Rāja of Bharōch (Broach), who relied probably on the powerful support of the Chalukya monarch, seems to have occurred later than 633 A. D. and before Hiuen Tsang's visit to Western India in 641 or 642. Dhruvabhata, as already related, was compelled to sue for peace, to accept the hand of the victor's daughter, and to be content with the position of a feudatory vassal. The same campaign may be presumed to have involved the submission of the kingdoms or countries of Ānandapura, Ki-c'ha, or (?)Cutch, and Soratha, or Southern Kāthīāwār, all of which in 641 A. D. were still reckoned to be dependencies of Mo-la-p'o, or Western Mālava, formerly subject to Valabhī.[2]

Extent of Harsha's empire.

In the latter years of his reign the sway of Harsha over the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepāl),[3] from the Himalaya to the Narmadā, besides Mālwā, Gujarāt, and Surāshtra, was undisputed. Detailed administration of course remained in the hands of the local Rājas, but even the king of distant Assam (Kāmarūpa) in the east obeyed the orders of the suzerain, whose son-in-law, the king of Valabhī in the extreme west, attended in the imperial train.

His progresses.

For the control of his extensive empire, Harsha relied upon his personal supervision, exercised with untiring energy, rather than upon the services of a trained bureaucracy.

[1] Ma-twan-lin, the Chinese encyclopaedist (Max Muller, *India*, p. 287). Dr. Fleet's date, 609 or 610 A. D., is impossible, Harsha being then engaged in the subjugation of Northern India.

[2] Grant of Dadda of Bharōch (*Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 70). The event is discussed by M. Ettinghausen in pp. 47–9 of his interesting monograph, *Harṣa Vardhana, empereur et poète de l'Inde septentrionale*, 606–48 A. D.; Louvain, 1906.

[3] MM. Sylvain Lévi and Ettinghausen (pp. 47, 184) deny the conquest of Nepāl by Harsha and the use of his era in that country; but, I think, without adequate reason. See *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 421; Kielhorn, *List of Northern Inscriptions*, *Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, App. p. 75.

Except during the rainy season, when travelling with a huge camp was impracticable, he was incessantly on the move, punishing evil-doers, and rewarding the meritorious. Luxurious tents, such as were used by the Moghal emperors, and still form the movable habitations of high Anglo-Indian officials, had not then been invented, and Harsha was obliged to be content with a 'travelling palace' made of boughs and reeds, which was erected at each halting-place, and burnt at his departure.[1]

Civil administration.

Hiuen Tsang, like his predecessor Fa-hien, more than two centuries earlier, was favourably impressed by the character of the civil administration, which he considered to be founded on benign principles. The principal source of revenue was the rent of the crown lands, amounting, in theory at all events, to one-sixth of the produce. The officials were remunerated by grants of land; compulsory labour upon public works was paid for; taxes were light; the personal services exacted from the subject were moderate in amount; and liberal provision was made for charity to various religious communities.

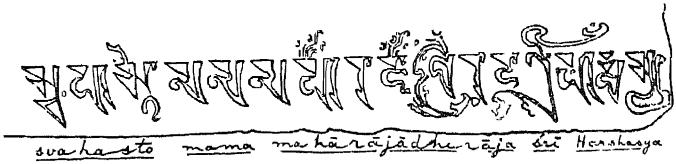
Police and crime.

Violent crime was rare, but the roads and river routes evidently were less safe than in Fa-hien's time, as Hiuen Tsang was stopped and robbed by brigands more than once. Imprisonment was now the ordinary penalty, and it was of the cruel Tibetan type; the prisoners, we are told, 'are simply left to live or die, and are not counted among men.' The other punishments were more sanguinary than in the Gupta period: mutilation of the nose, ears, hands, or feet being inflicted as the penalty of serious offences, and even for failure in filial piety; but this penalty was sometimes commuted for banishment. Minor offences were visited with fines. Ordeals by water, fire, weighment, or poison were much esteemed as efficient instruments for the ascertainment of truth; and are described with approval by the Chinese pilgrim.

[1] Beal, *Records*, ii, 193; *Watters*, ii, 183. The kings of Burma in the eighteenth century followed the same practice. A spacious and by no means uncomfortable dwelling of the royal order of architecture was erected in a day (Symes, *Embassy to Ava*, i, 283, Constable).

Official records. Official records of public events were kept in every province by special officers, whose duty it was to register 'good and evil events, with calamities and fortunate occurrences'. Such records were, no doubt, consulted by the writers of the great historical inscriptions, but no specimen of them has survived.

Education and literature. Education evidently was diffused widely, especially among the Brahmans and numerous Buddhist monks; and learning was honoured by the government. King Harsha was not only a liberal patron of literary merit, but was himself an accomplished calligraphist and an author of reputation. Besides a grammatical work, three extant Sanskrit plays and



AUTOGRAPH OF KING HARSHA.

sundry compositions in verse are ascribed to his pen; and there is no reason for hesitating to believe that he had at least a large share in their composition, for royal authors were not uncommon in ancient India. One of these plays, the *Nāgānanda*, which has an edifying Buddhist legend for its subject, is considered to rank among the best works of the Indian theatre; and the other dramas, the *Ratnāvalī*, or 'Necklace', and the *Priyadarśikā*, or 'Gracious Lady', although lacking in originality, are praised highly for their simplicity of both thought and expression.[1]

Bāṇa. The greatest ornament of the literary circle at Harsha's court was the Brahman Bāṇa, author of the historical romance devoted to a panegyrical account of the deeds of his patron, which is an amazingly clever, but irritating, performance; executed in the worst possible taste, and yet containing passages of admirable and vivid description. The

[1] The facsimile of Harsha's autograph is from the Banskhera inscription. For the plays see Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*; Sylvain Lévi, *Théâtre Indien*; and Boyd's translation of the *Nāgānanda*. For royal authors see *Ind. Ant.*, xx, 201. Ettinghausen discusses the literary history of Harsha's reign in chapter iii of his work.

man who attributes to the commander-in-chief, Skandagupta, 'a nose as long as his sovereign's pedigree,' may be fairly accused of having perpetrated the most grotesque simile in all literature. But the same man could do better, and shows no lack of power when depicting the death-agony of the king. 'Helplessness had taken him in hand: pain had made him its province, wasting its domain, lassitude its lair. . . He was on the confines of doom, on the verge of the last gasp, at the outset of the Great Undertaking, at the portal of the Long Sleep, on the tip of death's tongue; broken in utterance, unhinged in mind, tortured in body, waning in life, babbling in speech, ceaseless in sighs; vanquished by yawning, swayed by suffering, in the bondage of wracking pains.' Such writing, although not in perfect good taste, unmistakably bears the stamp of power.[1]

Harsha's latter days. One campaign sated Asoka's thirst for blood; thirty-six years of warfare, continuous for six years, and intermittent for the rest of the time, were needed by Harsha before he could be content to sheathe the sword. His last campaign was fought against the people of Ganjām (Kongōda) in 643 A.D.; and then at last this king of many wars doffed his armour, and devoted himself to the arts of peace and the practice of piety, as understood by an Indian despot. He obviously set himself to imitate Asoka, and the narrative of the doings in the latter years of Harsha's reign reads like a copy of the history of the great Maurya.

His devotion. At this period the king began to show marked favour to the quietist teachings of Buddhism, first in its Hīnayāna, and afterwards in its Mahāyāna form. He led the life of a devotee, and enforced the Buddhist prohibitions against the destruction of animal life with the utmost strictness and scant regard for the sanctity of human life. 'He sought,' we are told, 'to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgot to sleep and eat'; and forbade the slaughter of any living thing, or the use of flesh as food

[1] The translation of Bāna's work by Mr. F. W. Thomas and the late Professor Cowell, published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1897, is a triumph of skill.

throughout the 'Five Indies' under pain of death without hope of pardon.

Benevolent and religious institutions.

Benevolent institutions on the Asokan model, for the benefit of travellers, the poor, and sick, were established throughout the empire. Rest-houses (*dharmsālā*) were built in both the towns and rural parts, and provided with food and drink, physicians being stationed at them to supply medicines to the necessitous without stint. The king also imitated his prototype in the foundation of numerous religious establishments, devoted to the service of both the Hindu gods and the Buddhist ritual. In his closing years the latter received the chief share of the royal favour; and numerous monasteries were erected, as well as several thousand *stūpas*, each about a hundred feet high, built along the banks of the sacred Ganges. These latter structures doubtless were of a flimsy character, built chiefly of timber and bamboos, and so have left no trace; but the mere multiplication of *stūpas*, however perishable the materials might be, was always a work of merit. Although Buddhism was visibly waning in the days of Harsha and Hiuen Tsang, the monks of the order were still numerous, and the occupants of the monasteries enumerated by the pilgrim numbered nearly two hundred thousand.[1] A monastic population of such magnitude offered abundant opportunities for the exercise of princely liberality.

State of religion.

The picture of the state of religious belief and practice in India during the seventh century, as drawn by the contemporary authors, is filled with curious and interesting details. The members of the royal family to which Harsha belonged freely acted on their individual preferences in the matter of religion. His remote ancestor, Pushyabhūti, is recorded to have entertained from boyhood an ardent devotion towards Siva, and to have turned away from all other gods. Harsha's father was equally devoted to the worship of the Sun, and daily offered to that luminary 'a bunch of red lotuses set in a pure vessel of ruby, and tinged, like his own heart, with the same hue'. The elder brother and sister of Harsha were

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1891, pp. 418–21.

convinced Buddhists, while Harsha himself distributed his devotions among the three deities of the family, Siva, the Sun, and Buddha ;[1] and erected costly temples for the service of all three. But, in his latter years, the Buddhist doctrines held the chief place in his affections; and the eloquence of the Chinese Master of the Law induced him to prefer the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna sect to the more primitive Hīnayāna doctrine of the Sammitīya school with which he had been familiar previously.

Royal eclecticism.

The religious eclecticism of the royal family was the reflection and result of the state of popular religion at the time. Buddhism, although it had certainly lost the dominant position in the Gangetic plain which it had once held, was still a powerful force, and largely influenced the public mind. The Jain system, which had never been very widely spread or aggressive in the North, retained its hold on certain localities, especially at Vaisāli and in Eastern Bengal, but could not pretend to rival the general popularity of either Buddhism or Purānic Hinduism. The last-named modification of the Hindu system was now firmly established, and the earlier Purānas were already revered as ancient and sacred writings. The bulk of the population in most provinces was then, as now, devoted to the service of the Purānic gods; each man and woman being, of course, free to select a particular deity, Siva, the Sun, Vishnu, or another, for special adoration according to personal predilection. As a rule, the followers of the various religions lived peaceably together; and no doubt many people besides the king sought to make certain of some divine support by doing honour to all the principal objects of popular worship in turn.

Persecution by Śaśānka.

But, while toleration and concord were the rule, exceptions occurred. The king of Central Bengal, Sasānka, who has been mentioned as the treacherous murderer of Harsha's brother, and probably was a scion of the Gupta dynasty, was a worshipper of Siva, and hated Buddhism, which he did his

[1] It is, of course, not strictly accurate to describe Buddha as a deity; but, when the Buddhism of the seventh century is in question, the inaccuracy is little more than formal.

best to destroy. He dug up and burnt the holy Bodhi tree at Bōdh Gayā, on which, according to legend, Asoka had lavished inordinate devotion; broke the stone marked with the footprints of Buddha at Pātaliputra; destroyed the convents, and scattered the monks, carrying his persecutions to the foot of the Nepalese hills. These events, which are amply attested by the evidence of Hiuen Tsang, who visited the localities thirty or forty years later, must have happened about 600 A.D. The Bodhi tree was replanted after a short time by Pūrna-varman, the local Rāja of Magadha, who is described as being the last descendant of Asoka, and as such was specially bound to honour the object venerated by his great ancestor.

Sectarian animosity.

The details given by Hiuen Tsang and his biographer prove that at times bitter animosity marked the relations of the two great sections of the Buddhist church with one another; and that equal ill-feeling was evoked in the breasts of Purānic Hindus, when they beheld the royal favours lavished upon their Buddhist rivals. It is clear, therefore, that general statements concerning the perfect religious toleration enjoyed in ancient India can be accepted only with a certain amount of reservation. Official persecutions and popular ebullitions of sectarian rancour undoubtedly occurred from time to time, although they were not frequent.

Disputations.

Harsha himself sometimes offended against the principle of perfect religious toleration and equality. Like Akbar, and many other Indian sovereigns, he was fond of listening to the expositions of rival doctors, and heard with great pleasure the arguments adduced by the learned Chinese traveller in favour of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism, with the doctrines of which he does not seem to have been familiar. An interesting illustration of the freedom of ancient Hindu society from the trammels of the system of female seclusion introduced by the Muhammadans, is afforded by the fact that his widowed sister sat by the king's side to hear the lecture by the Master of the Law, and frankly expressed the pleasure which she received from the discourse. One Chinese autho-

rity even asserts that Harsha administered the government in conjunction with her.[1]

Harsha's proclamation.

The king was determined that his favourite should not be defeated in controversy; and when opponents were invited to dispute the propositions of the Chinese scholar, the terms of the contest were not quite fair. Harsha, having heard a report that Hiuen Tsang's life was in danger at the hands of his theological rivals, issued a proclamation concluding with the announcement that

'if any one should touch or hurt the Master of the Law, he shall be forthwith executed; and whoever speaks against him, his tongue shall be cut out; but all those who desire to profit by his instructions, relying on my goodwill, need not fear this manifesto.'

The pilgrim's biographer naively adds that

'from this time the followers of error withdrew and disappeared, so that when eighteen days had passed, there had been no one to enter on the discussion.'[2]

Alleged persecution of Zoroastrian religion.

A legend, narrated by Tāranāth, the Tibetan historian of Buddhism, if founded on fact, as it may be, indicates that Harsha's toleration did not extend to foreign religions. The story runs that the king built near Maulasthāna (? Multān) a great monastery constructed of timber after the foreign fashion, in which he entertained the strange teachers hospitably for several months; and that at the close of the entertainment he set fire to the building, and consumed along with it twelve thousand followers of the outlandish system, with all their books. This drastic measure is said to have reduced the religion of the Persians and Sakas to very narrow limits for a century, and it is alleged that their doctrine, presumably Zoroastrianism, was kept alive only by a single weaver in Khorasan.[3]

[1] The *Fang-chih* (*Watters*, i, 345).

[2] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 180.

[3] Schiefner, *Tāranāth*, p. 128. Ettinghausen (p. 86) cites from the Nevill MSS in the British Museum a curious Singhalese echo of this legend, and an alleged parallel case in Ceylon. Harsha's fierce threat against the opponents of Hiuen Tsang suggests that the story may have some foundation of fact.

Assembly at Kanauj.

King Harsha was so delighted with the discourse of Hiuen Tsang, whom he had met while in camp in Bengal, that he resolved to hold a special assembly at Kanauj, which was then his capital, for the purpose of giving the utmost publicity to the Master's teaching. The king marched along the southern bank of the Ganges, attended by an enormous multitude; his ally Kumāra, king of Kāmarūpa, with a large but less numerous following, keeping pace with him on the opposite bank. Advancing slowly in this way, Harsha, Kumāra, and the attendant host reached Kanauj in the course of ninety days, and there encamped, in February or March, 644 A.D.[1] The sovereign was received by Kumāra, the Rāja of Kāmarūpa, who had accompanied him on the march, the Rāja of Valabhī in Western India, who was connected with him by marriage, and eighteen other tributary Rājas; as well as by four thousand learned Buddhist monks, including a thousand from the Nālanda monastery in Bihār, and some three thousand Jains and orthodox Brahmans.

Ceremonies

The centre of attraction was a great monastery and shrine specially erected upon the bank of the Ganges, where a golden image of Buddha, equal to the king in stature, was kept in a tower, a hundred feet high. A similar but smaller image, three feet in height, was carried daily in solemn procession, escorted by the twenty Rājas and a train of three hundred elephants. The canopy was borne by Harsha in person, attired as the god Sakra, while his ally, Rāja Kumāra, the most important of the princes in attendance, was clad as the god Brahmā, and had the honour of waving a white fly-whisk. The sovereign, as he moved along, scattered on every side pearls, golden flowers, and other precious substances, in honour of the 'Three Jewels'—Buddha, the Religion, and the Order; and, having with his own hands washed the image at the altar prepared for the purpose, bore it on his shoulder to the western tower, and there offered to it thousands of silken robes, embroidered with gems. Dinner was succeeded by a public disputation of the one-sided kind already described;

[1] 'It was now the second month of spring-time' (Beal, *Records*, i, 218).

and in the evening the monarch returned to his 'travelling palace', a mile distant.

These ceremonies, which lasted for many days, were terminated by startling incidents. The temporary monastery, which had been erected at vast cost, suddenly took fire, and was in great part destroyed; but when the king intervened in person, the flames were stayed, and pious hearts recognized a miracle.

Attempt on Harsha's life.

Harsha, attended by his princely train, had ascended the great *stūpa* to survey the scene, and was coming down the steps, when a fanatic, armed with a dagger, rushed upon him and attempted to stab him. The assassin, having been captured instantly, was closely interrogated by the king in person, and confessed that he had been instigated to commit the crime by certain 'heretics', who resented the excessive royal favour shown to the Buddhists. Five hundred Brahmans of note were then arrested, and being 'straitly questioned', were induced to confess that, in order to gratify their jealousy, they had fired the tower by means of burning arrows, and had hoped to slay the king during the resulting confusion. This confession, which was no doubt extorted by torture, probably was wholly false; but, whether true or not, it was accepted, and on the strength of it the alleged principals in the plot were executed, and some five hundred Brahmans were sent into exile.

644 A.D. Charitable distribution at Prayāga.

After the close of the proceedings at Kanauj, Harsha invited his Chinese guest to accompany him to Prayāga (Allāhābād), at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna, to witness another imposing ceremonial. The Master of the Law, although anxious to start on his toilsome homeward journey, could not refuse the invitation, and accompanied his royal host to the scene of the intended display. Harsha explained that it had been his practice for thirty years past, in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, to hold a great quinquennial assembly on the sands where the rivers meet, and there to distribute his accumulated treasures to the poor and needy, as well as to the religious of all denominations. The present occasion (644 A.D.) was the sixth of

the series, which evidently had not been begun until Harsha had consolidated his power in the north.

Proceedings.

The assembly was attended by all the vassal kings and a vast concourse of humbler folk estimated to number half a million, including poor, orphans, and destitute persons, besides specially invited Brahmans and ascetics of every sect from all parts of Northern India. The proceedings lasted for seventy-five days, terminating apparently about the end of April, and were opened by an imposing procession of all the Rājas with their retinues. The religious services were of the curiously eclectic kind, characteristic of the times. On the first day, an image of Buddha was set up in one of the temporary thatched buildings upon the sands, and vast quantities of costly clothing and other articles of value were distributed. On the second and third days respectively, the images of the Sun and Siva were similarly honoured, but the accompanying distribution in each case was only half the amount of that consecrated to Buddha. The fourth day was devoted to the bestowal of gifts on ten thousand selected religious persons of the Buddhist order, who each received one hundred gold coins, a pearl, and a cotton garment, besides choice food, drink, flowers, and perfumes. During the next following twenty days, the great multitude of Brahmans were the recipients of the royal bounty. They were succeeded by the people whom the Chinese author calls 'heretics', that is to say, Jains and members of sundry sects, who received gifts for the space of ten days. A like period was allotted for the bestowal of alms upon mendicants from distant regions; and a month was occupied in the distribution of charitable aid to poor, orphaned, and destitute persons.

Extent of gifts.

'By this time the accumulation of five years was exhausted. Except the horses, elephants, and military accoutrements, which were necessary for maintaining order and protecting the royal estate, nothing remained. Besides these the king freely gave away his gems and goods, his clothing and necklaces, ear-rings, bracelets, chaplets, neck-jewel and bright head-jewel, all these he freely gave without stint. All being given away, he begged from his sister [Rājyasrī] an ordinary

second-hand garment, and having put it on, he paid worship to the "Buddhas of the ten regions", and rejoiced that his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit.'

Departure of Hiuen Tsang.

The strange assembly, which in general appearance must have much resembled the crowded fair still held annually on the same ground, then broke up; and, after a further detention of ten days, Hiuen Tsang was permitted to depart. The king and Kumāra Rāja offered him abundance of gold pieces and other precious things, none of which would he accept, save a fur-lined cape, the gift of Kumāra. But although the Master of the Law uniformly declined gifts intended to serve his personal use, he did not disdain to accept money for the necessary expenses of his arduous journey overland to China. These were provided on a liberal scale by the grant of three thousand gold, and ten thousand silver pieces carried on an elephant. A Rāja named Udhita was placed in command of a mounted escort, and charged to conduct the pilgrim in safety to the frontier. In the course of about six months of leisurely progress, interrupted by frequent halts, the Rāja completed his task, and brought his sovereign's guest in safety to Jālandhar in the east of the Panjāb, where Hiuen Tsang stayed for a month. He then started with a fresh escort, and, penetrating with difficulty the defiles of the Salt Range, crossed the Indus, and ultimately reached his home in distant China by the route over the Pāmīrs and through Khotan, in the spring of 645 A.D.[1]

His death.

The pilgrim did not come back empty-handed. Notwithstanding losses on more than one occasion, due to accident or robbery, he succeeded in bringing home a hundred and fifty particles of Buddha's bodily relics; sundry images of the Teacher in gold, silver, and sandal-wood; and no less than 657 distinct volumes of manuscripts, carried upon twenty horses. The rest of his life was mainly devoted to the work

[1] 'Yuan-chuang returned to China, and arrived at Ch'ang-an in the beginning of 645, the nineteenth year of T'ang T'ai Tsung' (*Watters*, i, 11). See map and itinerary appended to vol. ii of Watters's work.

of translation, and he had completed the Chinese versions of seventy-four separate works when he brought his literary labours to a close in the year 661 A.D. He lived in peace and honour for three years longer, and calmly passed away in 664 A.D., leaving behind him a reputation for learning and piety surpassing that of any other Buddhist doctor.

648 A.D. Death of Harsha.

The pages of Hiuen Tsang and his biographer give the latest information about King Harsha, who died at the end of 647, or the beginning of 648, not long after his distinguished guest's departure.[1]

Intercourse with China.

During his lifetime he maintained diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese empire. A Brahman envoy, whom he had sent to the emperor of China in 641, returned in 643 A.D., accompanied by a Chinese mission bearing a reply to Harsha's dispatch. The mission remained for a considerable time in India, and did not go back to China until 645 A.D. The next year, Wang-hiuen-tse, who had been the second in command of the earlier embassy, was sent by his sovereign as head of a new Indian mission, with an escort of thirty horsemen. Before the envoys reached Magadha, in 648 A.D., King Harsha had died, and the withdrawal of his strong arm had plunged the country into disorder, which was aggravated by famine.

Usurpation of (?) Arjuna.

Arjuna, or Arunāsva, a minister of the late king, usurped the throne, and gave a hostile reception to the Chinese mission. The members of the escort were massacred, and the property of the mission plundered; but the envoys, Wang-hiuen-tse and his colleague, were fortunate enough to escape into Nepāl by night.

Defeat of the usurper by the Chinese envoy.

The reigning king of Tibet, the famous Srong-tsan Gampo, who was married to a Chinese princess, succoured the fugitives, and supplied them with a force of a thousand horsemen, which co-operated with a Nepalese contingent of seven

[1] The difference of opinion which existed at one time between Professor Sylvain Lévi and Édouard Chavannes has been removed, and both the distinguished scholars named assure me that they agree on the date stated in the text. The story of Wang-hiuen-t'se is fully related in M. Sylvain Lévi's article, 'Les Missions de Wang-Hiuen-T'se dans l'Inde,' in *Journal Asiatique*, 1900. (?) Arjuna, or (?) Aruṇāśva, is disguised in the Chinese texts as Na-fū-ti O-lo-na-shoen.

thousand men. With this small army Wang-hiuen-tse descended into the plains, and, after a three days' siege, succeeded in storming the chief city of Tirhūt. Three thousand of the garrison were beheaded, and ten thousand persons were drowned in the neighbouring river. (?) Arjuna fled, and having collected a fresh force, offered battle. He was again disastrously defeated and taken prisoner. The victor promptly beheaded a thousand prisoners, and in a later action captured the entire royal family, took twelve thousand prisoners, and obtained thirty thousand head of cattle. Five hundred and eighty walled towns made their submission; and Kumāra, the king of Eastern India, who had attended Harsha's assemblies a few years earlier, sent in abundant supplies of cattle, horses, and accoutrements for the victorious army. Wang-hiuen-tse brought the usurper as a prisoner to China, and was promoted for his services. Thus ended this strange episode, which, although known to antiquaries for many years, has hitherto escaped the notice of the historians of India.

Third visit of Wang-hiuen-t'se.

Wang-hiuen-tse once more visited the scene of his adventures, being sent by imperial order in 657 A.D. to offer robes at the Buddhist holy places. He entered India through Nepāl, by a route which was then open, and used by many Buddhist pilgrims; and, after paying his respects at Vaisāli, Bōdh-Gayā, and other sacred spots, returned home through Kapisa, or Northern Afghanistan, by the Hindū Kush and Pāmīr route.

Kashmīr in seventh century.

The observations of Hiuen Tsang throw considerable light upon the political arrangements of India in the regions beyond the limits of Harsha's empire during the seventh century A.D. In the north, Kashmīr was the predominant power, and had reduced the kingdoms of Taxila and the Salt Range (Simhapura), as well as the minor principalities of the lower hills,[1] to the rank of dependencies.

The Panjāb.

The greater part of the Panjāb between the Indus and the Biās rivers was comprised in the kingdom called Tseh-kia,

[1] Uraśā, or Hazāra; Parnōtsa, or Punach; Rājapuri, or Rajauri, the ancient Abhisāra.

or Chēh-ka, by the pilgrim, the capital of which was an unnamed city situated close to Sākala (Siālkot), where the tyrant Mihiragula had held his court. The province of Multān, where the Sun-god was held in special honour, and a country called Po-fa-to, probably Jamū, to the north-east of Multān, were dependencies of this kingdom.

Sind

Sind was remarkable for being under the government of a Buddhist king belonging to the Sūdra caste, and for the large number of Buddhist monks which the country supported, estimated at ten thousand. But the quality was not in proportion to the quantity; most of the ten thousand being denounced as idle fellows given over to self-indulgence and debauchery. The Indus delta, to which the pilgrim gives the name of 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo, was a province of the kingdom of Sind.[1]

Alōr, the capital.

From other sources of information we learn that the kingdom of Sind, of which Balūchistan was a dependency, in those days was rich and powerful, far more populous and fertile than it is now. It occupied the whole valley of the Indus from the neighbourhood of the Salt Range to the sea, and was separated from India proper by the 'lost river', the Hakrā or Wahindah, the Sin-tu of Hiuen Tsang. The capital, to which the pilgrim gives the name of P'i-shan-p'o-pu-lo, was Arōr or Alōr, on the west bank of the Hakrā, a large fortified city, the ruins of which are still traceable five miles to the south-east of Rohri (Rūṛhī) in the Shikārpur District, N. lat. 27° 39′, E. long. 68° 59′. According to a romantic legend, the ruin of the city was effected, about 800 A.D., by a merchant named Saif-ul-Mulūk, who diverted the waters of the river in order to save a beautiful girl from the clutches of a licentious Rāja.

Kings of Sind.

The Buddhist king of the Sūdra caste mentioned by the pilgrim must be Sihras Rāi, son of Dīwajī, who was succeeded by his son Sāhasī. During the reign of Sihras Rāi, the ever victorious Arabs, then in the first flush of enthusiasm, entered Mukrān (Balūchistan), and were met by Sihras Rāi, who was

[1] The proper Indian equivalents of Tseh-kia, Po-fa-to, and 'O-tien-p'o-chi-lo are not known with any approach to certainty. See map.

defeated and slain. Mukrān was permanently occupied by the invaders late in 644 A.D., and about two years later, Sāhasī, who continued to oppose the foreign enemy, shared his father's fate. The sceptre then passed into the hands of a Brahman minister named Chach, who ruled for about forty years. Sind was invaded by the Arabs in 710–11 A.D. (92 H.), under the command of Muhammad, the son of Kāsim, who defeated and killed Dāhir, the son of Chach, in June, 712 A.D. From that date the ancient Hindu kingdom was extinguished, and the province passed permanently into Muslim hands.[1]

Central India and Bengal.

The kings of Ujjain in Central India and of Pundra-vardhana in Bengal, both of which kingdoms were more or less subject to Harsha's control, belonged to the Brahman caste. The Ujjain country supported a dense population, comprising few Buddhists. Most of the monasteries were in ruins, and only three or four, occupied by some three hundred monks, were in use. The early decay of Buddhism in this region, which was sanctified by the traditions of Asoka, and included the magnificent buildings at Sānchī, is a very curious fact, at present unexplained.

Kāmarūpa.

Bhāskara-varman, or Kumāra Rāja, the king of Kāmarūpa, or Assam, who played such a prominent part in Harsha's ceremonials, also was described as being by caste a Brahman, and without faith in Buddha; although well disposed towards learned men of all religions. He was so far subject to the sovereign of Northern India, that he could not afford to disobey Harsha's commands.

Kalinga.

Kalinga, the conquest of which had cost Asoka such bitter remorse nine hundred years earlier, was depopulated, and mostly covered with jungle. The pilgrim observes in picturesque language that 'in old days the kingdom of Kalinga had a very dense population. Their shoulders rubbed one with the other, and the axles of their chariot-wheels grided together, and when they raised their arm-sleeves a perfect

[1] Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 566–70, 663; *J. A. S. B.*, part i (1902), pp. 233, 239, 251; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, vol. i, Note B, p. 405. Raverty's statements are more accurate than those of Elliot, which contain many errors. The name which Elliot (p. 405) reads as 'Kanauj' really is *Kinnauj*, a dependency of Multān.

tent was formed'. Legend sought to explain the change by the curse of an angry saint.

Other kingdoms.

Hiuen Tsang's account of Kashmīr, Nepāl, and the kingdoms of the South and West will be noticed in due course in subsequent chapters.

Effect of Harsha's death.

Harsha's death loosened the bonds which restrained the disruptive forces always ready to operate in India, and allowed them to produce their normal result, a medley of petty states, with ever-varying boundaries, and engaged in unceasing internecine war. Such was India when first disclosed to European observation in the fourth century B.C., and such it always has been, except during the comparatively brief periods in which a vigorous central government has compelled the mutually repellent molecules of the body politic to check their gyrations and submit to the grasp of a superior controlling force.

India's normal condition

The visitation of the Hun invasions caused such suffering that the wholesome despotism of Harsha was recognized as a necessary remedy. When he died, the wounds inflicted by the fierce foreign savages had long been healed, while the freedom of the country from external attack relieved men's minds from feeling the necessity for a deliverer; and so India instantly reverted to her normal condition of anarchical autonomy.

Freedom from foreign aggression for five centuries.

Excepting the purely local incursions of the Arabs in Sind and Gujarāt during the eighth century, interior India was exempt from serious foreign aggression for nearly five hundred years, from the defeat of Mihiragula in 528 A.D. until the raids of Mahmūd of Ghaznī at the beginning of the eleventh century, and was left free to work out her destiny in her own fashion.

Decadence.

She cannot claim to have achieved success. The history of this long period is, on the whole, a melancholy record of degradation and decadence in government, literature, religion, and art, with the exception of temple architecture. The three following chapters, which attempt to give an outline of the salient features in the bewildering annals of Indian petty states when left to their own devices for several

centuries, may perhaps serve to give the reader a notion of what India always has been when released from the control of a supreme authority, and what she would be again, if the hand of the benevolent despotism which now holds her in its iron grasp should be withdrawn.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE SEVENTH CENTURY

A. D.	EVENT
600	Hiuen Tsang, Chinese pilgrim, born.
cir. 600	Persecution of Buddhism by Saśānka.
605	Rājya-vardhana, Rāja of Thānēsar, *acc.*
606	Harsha-vardhana, Rāja of Thānēsar, *acc.*
606–12	Conquest of Northern India by Harsha.
608	Pulakeśin II Chalukya, *acc.*
609	Pulakeśin II Chalukya, crowned.
Oct. 612	Harsha crowned; his era established.
615	Kubja Vishṇu-vardhana (Vishamasiddhi), viceroy of Vengi.
618	Kao-tsu, first T'ang emperor of China, *acc.*
619–20	Ganjām inscription of Saśānka.
cir. 620	Defeat of Harsha by Pulakeśin II Chalukya
622	Muhammedan era of the Hijra or 'flight'.
627	T'ai Tsung, emperor of China, *acc.*
628–9	Banskhera inscription of Harsha.
629	Hiuen Tsang began his travels.
630–1	Madhuban inscription of Harsha.
cir. 635	Conquest of Valabhī by Harsha.
636	Nestorian Christianity introduced into China by Alopen.
641	Harsha sent embassy to China; king Srong-tsan-Gam-po of Tibet married Chinese princess Wen-cheng; Sassanian king Yezdegird defeated by the Arabs at Nahavend; Arab conquest of Egypt.
642	Death of Pulakeśin II Chalukya.
643	Harsha's expedition to Ganjām; his meeting with Hiuen Tsang; Chinese mission of Li-I-piao and Wang-hiuen-t'se.
644	Harsha's assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga; Hiuen Tsang started on return journey.
645	Arrival of Hiuen Tsang in China.
646	Dispatch of second mission of Wang-hiuen-t'se.
648	Death of Harsha.
648–9	Usurpation of (?) Arjuna and his defeat by Chinese, Nepalese, and Tibetans.
649	Death of T'ai Tsung, emperor of China; Kao-tsung, *acc.*
657	Third mission of Wang-hiuen-t'se.
661–5	Greatest extension of Chinese dominions.
664	Death of Hiuen Tsang.
670	Defeat of Chinese by Tibetans.
671	I-tsing, Chinese pilgrim, began his travels.
675–85	I-tsing resided at Nālanda.
691–2	I-tsing composed his *Record*.
695	I-tsing returned to China.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MEDIAEVAL KINGDOMS OF THE NORTH FROM 648 TO 1200 A.D.

I

Relations with China and Tibet

Chinese influence on northern frontier of India.

THE tenacity of the Chinese government in holding on to the most distant possessions of the empire has been exemplified in recent times by the recovery of Kāshgaria and Yunnan from Muhammadan powers, and of Kuldja from the Russians. The history of the seventh and eighth centuries offers many illustrations of the same characteristic, and exhibits China as making the most determined efforts to exercise influence in, and assert suzerainty over, the countries on the northern frontier of India.

502–56 A.D. Ephthalite empire.

In the first half of the sixth century the power of China in the 'Western Countries' had vanished, and the Ephthalites, or White Huns, ruled a vast empire, which included Kāshgaria—the 'Four Garrisons' of Chinese writers—Kashmīr,[1] and Gandhāra, the region near Peshāwar.

565 A.D. Empire of Western Turks.

About the year 565 ('between 563 and 567') the Ephthalite dominion passed into the hands of the Western Turks and Persians; but the grasp of the latter power on the provinces south of the Oxus soon relaxed, and the Turks became the heirs of the Ephthalites in the whole of their territory as far as the Indus. Accordingly, in 630 A.D., when Hiuen Tsang was on his way to India, his safety was assured by passports granted by Tong-she-hū, the 'Kazan', or supreme chief of the Western Turks, which guaranteed him protection as far as Kapisa.[2]

[1] Ki-pin, which term usually was understood to mean Kashmīr by Chinese writers of the sixth century, in the time of the Wei dynasty (Chavannes, *Song Yun*, p. 37).

[2] Ki-pin, which ordinarily meant Kapiśa, the country to the north of the Kābul river, for Chinese writers of the seventh century, in the time of the T'ang dynasty.

In the same year the pilgrim's powerful protector was assassinated, and the Chinese, under the guidance of the emperor Tai-tsung, the second prince of the Tang dynasty, inflicted upon the Northern or Eastern Turks a defeat so decisive that the vanquished became slaves to the Chinese for fifty years. 630 A.D Chinese defeat of Northern Turks.

When relieved from fear of the Northern Turks, the Chinese were able to turn their arms against the western tribes, and in the years 640 8 succeeded in occupying Turfān, Kara-shahr, and Kuchā, thus securing the northern road of communication between the East and West. 640-8 A.D. Chinese conquest of Kuchā, &c.

At this time Tibet was under the rule of the famous king, Srong-tsan-Gampo, who founded Lhāsa in 639 A.D., introduced Buddhism into his country, and, with the help of Indian scholars, devised the Tibetan alphabet. While still very young he married Bhrikuti, a daughter of the king of Nepāl, and two years later, in 641 A.D., he succeeded with much difficulty in winning the hand of the princess Wencheng, daughter of the Chinese emperor, T'ai-Tsung. Both these ladies being zealous Buddhists, converted their young husband, and so determined the whole course of Tibetan history. The Church has not been slow to recognize the merit of its patrons. The king has been deified as an incarnation of Buddha, Avalokitesvara, the Saviour, while his Nepalese consort is revered as the 'Green Tārā' and the Chinese princess as the 'White Tārā'. The Chinese marriage secured the maintenance of friendly relations between Tibet and China during the brief life of Srong-tsan-Gampo, which ended about 650 A.D. In consequence, the Chinese envoys, in the years 643–5, when on their way to the court of Harsha, were able to pass through both Tibet and Nepāl as allied countries, and both these kingdoms willingly sent troops to rescue Wang-Hiuen-tse from the troubles into which he fell after Harsha's death.[1] Friendly relations with Tibet.

The work of subduing the Turks, begun by the emperor Tai-tsung, was continued by his successor Kao-tsung (650–83),

[1] Sarat Chandra Dās (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. l, part i (1886), pp. 218–22; Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism* (1895), pp. 20–4.

659-61 A.D. China in possession of empire of Western Turks. and, by the year 659, China was nominally mistress of the entire territory of the Western Turks, which was then formally annexed. In 661-5 China enjoyed unparalleled prestige, and had reached a height of glory never again attained. Kapisa (Ki-pin) was a province of the empire, and the imperial retinue included ambassadors from Udyāna, or the Suwāt valley, and from all the countries extending from Persia to Korea.

670 A.D. Occupation of Kāshgaria by the Tibetans. But this magnificent extension of the empire did not last long. A terrible defeat inflicted by the Tibetans in 670 deprived China of Kāshgaria, or the 'Four Garrisons', which remained in the hands of the victors until 692 A.D., when the province was recovered by the Chinese.

744 A.D. Final overthrow of the Northern Turks. Between 682 and 691 the Northern Turks had regained a good deal of the power which had been shattered by the defeat of 630, and even exercised a certain amount of control over the western tribes. But internal dissension was at all times the bane of the Central Asian nations, and the Chinese well knew how to take advantage of the national failing. They intervened in the tribal quarrels, with the support of the Uigurs and Karluks, with such effect that in 744 the Uigurs established themselves on the Orkhon in the eastern part of the Turkish territory; while, on the west, the Karluks gradually occupied the country of the Ten Tribes, and took possession of Tokmak and Talas, the former residences of the Turkish chiefs, to the west of Lake Issyk-kūl.

665–715 A.D. Routes between China and the west closed. Between 665 and 715 the government of China was unable to interfere effectually in the affairs of the countries between the Jaxartes (Syr Daryā) and the Indus; the southern route to the west through Kāshgaria having been closed by the Tibetans, and the roads over the Hindū Kush blocked by the conquests of Kotaiba, the Arab general, who was busily engaged in spreading the religion of the Prophet throughout Central Asia.

715-47 A.D. The accession of the emperor Hiuen-tsung, in 713, marks a revival of Chinese activity; and determined efforts were made by means of both diplomacy and arms to keep open the Pāmīr passes, and to check the ambition of the Arabs

Revival of Chinese influence on borders of India.

and Tibetans, who sometimes combined. In 719, Samarkand and other kingdoms invoked the aid of China against the armies of Islam; while the Arab leaders sought to obtain the co-operation of the minor states on the Indian borderland. The chiefs of Udyāna (Suwāt), Khottal (west of Badakshān), and Chitrāl, having refused to listen to Muslim blandishments, were rewarded by the emperor of China with letters patent conferring on each the title of king; and a similar honour was bestowed upon the rulers of Yasin (Little Po-lu), Zabulistan (Ghaznī), Kapisa, and Kashmīr. China made every effort to organize these frontier kingdoms, so as to form an effective barrier against both Arabs and Tibetans. Chandrāpīda, king of Kashmīr, received investiture as king from the emperor in 720, and his brother Muktāpīda-Lalitāditya was similarly honoured in 733.

A few years later—in 744 and 747—Chinese influence had been so far extended that the emperor granted titles to the king of Tabaristān, south of the Caspian. In the latter year a Chinese army crossed the Pāmīrs, in spite of all difficulties, and reduced the king of Yasin to subjection.

751 A.D. Rout of Chinese by Arabs and Karluks.

But, as in the seventh century, so in the eighth, the Chinese dominion over the western countries was short-lived, and was shattered by a disastrous defeat inflicted in 751 on the Chinese general Sien-chi by the Arabs, who were aided by the Karluk tribes. Indirectly this disaster had an important consequence for European civilization. The art of making paper, up to that time a monopoly of remote China, was introduced into Samarkand by Chinese prisoners, and so became known to Europe, with results familiar to all.[1]

Buddhism in Tibet.

During the long reign of Thi-(or Khri-)srong-de-tsan (743–789 A.D.) the development of Buddhism in Tibet was encouraged with a zeal which did not shrink from persecution

[1] The foregoing account of the relations of China with the states on the northern frontier of India is derived from the learned and valuable work by Professor Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) Occidentaux*, St. Pétersbourg, 1903. For the geography, see the map in that work, or Stanford's map appended to vol. ii of Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*. Dr. Stein also treats of the relations of China with the frontier countries of India in the early chapters of *Ancient Khotan*, 1907.

of the adherents of the rival indigenous Bon religion. The Indian sages, Sānta-rakshita and Padma-sambhava, were invited to court, and with their aid a system of clerical government was instituted, which survives to this day as Lamaism. The work of Thi-srong-de-tsan was continued and carried further by King Ralpachan (flor. 900 A. D.), but his successor, Langdarma, hated Buddhism, and did his best to extirpate it. A Lama avenged the wrongs of his co-religionists by assassinating the king. A war with China, in which King Ralpachan had gained considerable successes, was terminated by a treaty of peace, which never has been broken. During the eleventh century (1013 and 1042 A. D.), Buddhist missionaries from Magadha undid the work of Langdarma, and securely re-established Buddhism as the official and predominant religion of Tibet.[1]

Cessation of contact with China.

From the middle of the eighth century, contact between the politics of India and China ceased,[2] and was not renewed until the English conquest of Upper Burma in 1885. In these latter days, Tibet, which has been a dependency of China since the fourteenth century, has again come within the purview of the Indian government, and its affairs are again the subject of Indo-Chinese diplomacy.

II

Nepāl

Extent of Nepāl.

The kingdom of Nepāl, as at present constituted, is a considerable self-governed state extending from Sikkim on the east to Kumaon on the west, for a distance of about five hundred miles along the northern frontier of Tirhūt, Oudh, and the United Provinces. Except for a narrow strip of lowlands known as the Tarāi, the whole country is a maze of mountains and valleys. Strictly speaking, the name Nepāl should be restricted, and was confined in ancient times, to the enclosed valley, about twenty miles in length by fifteen

[1] Sarat Chandra Dās (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. l, part i (1881), pp. 224–38; Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, p. 24.

[2] 'Vers 760, la perte du pays de Ko-long, sépare définitivement les Chinois de l'Inde' (Lévi, *Le Népal*, ii, 175).

in breadth, within which Kāthmandū, the capital, and many other towns and villages are situated. The policy of the existing government rigorously excludes Europeans from every part of the state except that valley, and consequently very little is known about the rest.

In Samudragupta's time.

The earliest definite historical information concerning Nepāl, meaning the valley, is the statement in Samudragupta's great Allāhābād inscription of the fourth century A.D. that, like Kāmarūpa or Assam, it was an autonomous frontier state, paying tribute and yielding obedience to the paramount Gupta power. The tribute probably was little more than nominal and the obedience intermittent. At the present day the Nepalese Government, although practically independent, sends presents or tribute to the emperor of China, and recognizes in a vague way the suzerainty of that potentate, while receiving a British Resident and subordinating its foreign policy to the direction of the Government of India.

In Asoka's time.

Local tradition affirms that long before the time of Samudragupta, in the days of Asoka, in the third century B.C., the valley was under his control, and this tradition is confirmed by the existence at the town of Pātan of monuments attributed to him and his daughter, and by inscriptions which prove that the lowlands at the foot of the hills were an integral part of his empire. The direct distance from Pātaliputra to the valley of Nepāl not being great, it is probable that that territory formed part of the home provinces and was administered directly from the Maurya capital.

Local annals.

It is impossible to say exactly what happened between the time of Asoka and that of Samudragupta. The local annals, which exist in abundance, do not bear strict criticism, and give little information of value. The ruling dynasty during the sixth century was a Lichchhavi family, but its exact connexion with the Lichchhavis of Vaisāli is not ascertainable.

Seventh century and later.

During the seventh century Nepāl occupied the position of a buffer state between Tibet on the north, then a great power

in Asia, and the empire of Harsha of Kanauj on the south. King Amsuvarman, founder of the Thākuri dynasty, who died about 642 A.D., was in close touch with Tibet towards the close of his long reign by reason of his daughter's marriage to Srong-tsan-gampo, the monarch of that country, who was strong enough to compel the emperor of China to give him the princess Wen-cheng as second consort in 641. There is reason to believe that Harsha, the powerful southern neighbour of Nepāl, interfered in the affairs of that kingdom to some extent, and introduced the use of his era; although M. Sylvain Lévi is of opinion that the presumably superior influence of Tibet excludes the possibility of Harsha's interference. Certain it is that after Harsha's death Tibetan and Nepālese troops acted together in support of Wang-hiuen-tse, the Chinese envoy, and against the usurper of Harsha's throne (*ante*, p. 326). It is also certain that at the beginning of the eighth century Nepāl was dependent on Tibet, and continued in that position for a considerable time. The introduction of a new Nepalese era dating from October, 879 A.D., may be explained plausibly by the hypothesis that the fact marks the liberation of Nepāl from Tibetan control, but there is no credible record of the manner in which the new computation came into use, or of the supposed separation from Tibet. Chinese relations with Nepāl and India had come to an end soon after the middle of the eighth century. In recent times wars between China and Nepāl have resulted in a complimentary recognition by the smaller state of the suzerainty of the greater.

Gurkha conquest.

The confused and bloodstained story of the various petty dynasties which ruled in Nepāl up to 1768 A.D. possesses no general interest. In that year the Gurkhas conquered the country, and established the dynasty which now rules Nepāl through the agency of powerful ministers who have taken over all the substantial functions of sovereignty, reducing the nominal monarchs to a position of absolute insignificance.

Nepalese Buddhism.

Buddhism, in its early pure form, was introduced into the valley by Asoka, whose daughter is believed to have erected sacred edifices near the capital, which are still pointed out.

second-hand garment, and having put it on, he paid worship to the "Buddhas of the ten regions", and rejoiced that his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit.'

Departure of Hiuen Tsang.

The strange assembly, which in general appearance must have much resembled the crowded fair still held annually on the same ground, then broke up; and, after a further detention of ten days, Hiuen Tsang was permitted to depart. The king and Kumāra Rāja offered him abundance of gold pieces and other precious things, none of which would he accept, save a fur-lined cape, the gift of Kumāra. But although the Master of the Law uniformly declined gifts intended to serve his personal use, he did not disdain to accept money for the necessary expenses of his arduous journey overland to China. These were provided on a liberal scale by the grant of three thousand gold, and ten thousand silver pieces carried on an elephant. A Rāja named Udhita was placed in command of a mounted escort, and charged to conduct the pilgrim in safety to the frontier. In the course of about six months of leisurely progress, interrupted by frequent halts, the Rāja completed his task, and brought his sovereign's guest in safety to Jālandhar in the east of the Panjāb, where Hiuen Tsang stayed for a month. He then started with a fresh escort, and, penetrating with difficulty the defiles of the Salt Range, crossed the Indus, and ultimately reached his home in distant China by the route over the Pāmīrs and through Khotan, in the spring of 645 A. D.[1]

His death.

The pilgrim did not come back empty-handed. Notwithstanding losses on more than one occasion, due to accident or robbery, he succeeded in bringing home a hundred and fifty particles of Buddha's bodily relics; sundry images of the Teacher in gold, silver, and sandal-wood; and no less than 657 distinct volumes of manuscripts, carried upon twenty horses. The rest of his life was mainly devoted to the work

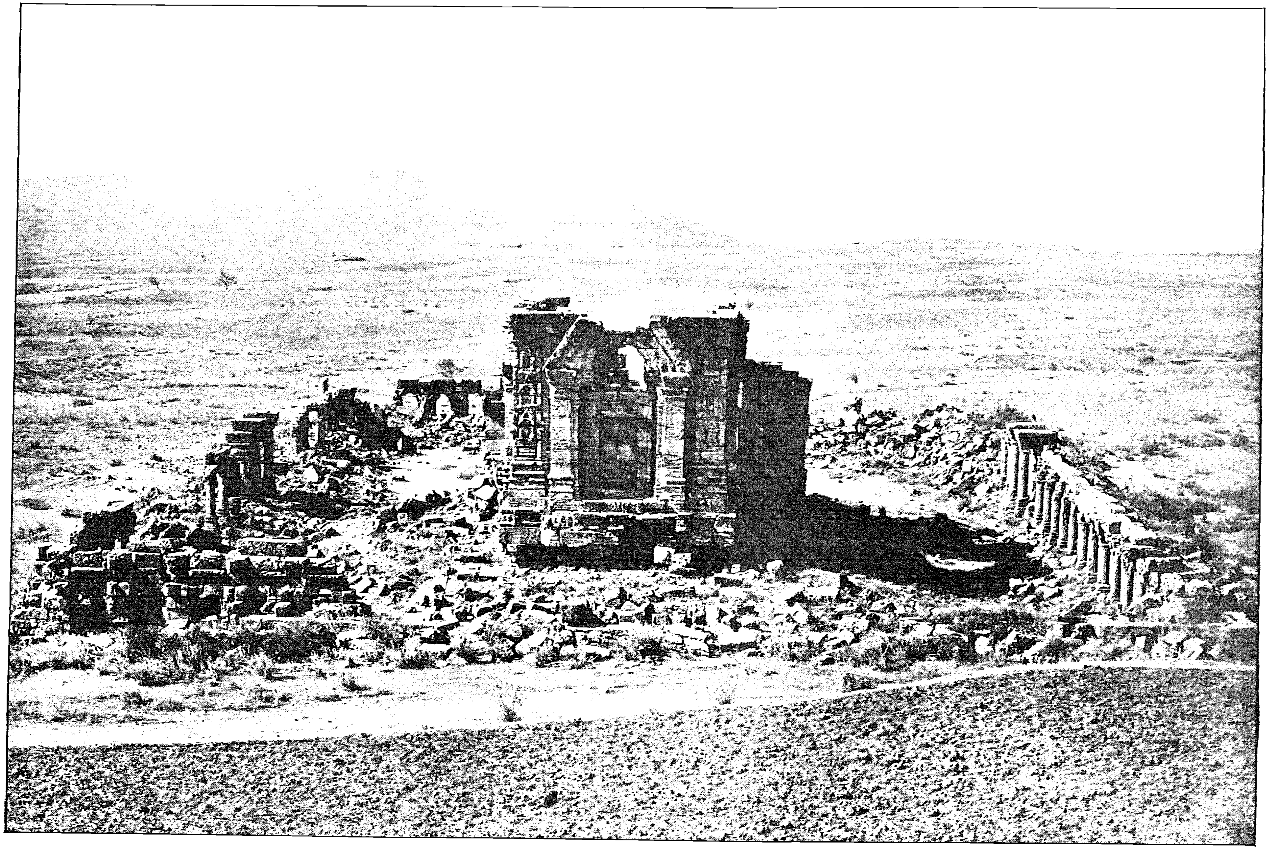
[1] 'Yuan-chuang returned to China, and arrived at Ch'ang-an in the beginning of 645, the nineteenth year of T'ang T'ai Tsung' (*Watters*, i, 11). See map and itinerary appended to vol. ii of Watters's work.

tribes is of more than local concern, because it supplies the clue to the strange Tantric developments of both Buddhism and Hinduism which are so characteristic of mediaeval and modern Bengal. The temple of Kāmākhyā at Gauhāti is one of the most sacred shrines of the Sākta Hindus, the worshippers of the female forms of deity, while the whole country is renowned in Hindu legend as a land of magic and witchcraft. The old tribal beliefs are being abandoned gradually in favour of extreme, or even fanatical, Hindu orthodoxy, and the history of Assam offers many examples of the process by which Brahman priests have established their influence over non-Aryan chiefs step by step, and drawn them within the roomy fold of Hinduism. All the various methods of conversion and absorption enumerated by Sir Alfred Lyall and Sir H. Risley have been adopted from time to time.[1]

Muhammadan attacks.

Another good claim to notice is based upon the fact that Assam is one of the few Indian provinces whose inhabitants successfully beat back the flowing tide of Muhammadan conquest, and maintained their independence in spite of repeated attempts to subvert it. The only Musalman invasion of Kāmarūpa which comes within the limits of the period treated in this volume is the expedition rashly undertaken in 1204-5 A. D. (601 A. H.) by Muhammad, the son of Bakhtiyār, the conqueror of Bengal and Bīhār. He advanced northwards along the bank of the Karataya river, which then formed the western frontier of Kāmarūpa, and succeeded in penetrating into the mountains to the north of Darjeeling, but being unable to obtain any secure foothold, was obliged to retreat. His retirement was disastrous. The people of Kāmarūpa having broken down the great stone bridge of many arches, which was the only means by which he could cross the river in safety, nearly all his men were drowned. The leader of the expedition managed to swim across with about a hundred horsemen, and then fell ill from

[1] Gait, *History of Assam*, Calcutta, 1906; Sir Alfred Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, First Series, ch. v; Risley, *Census of India*, 1901, *Report*, part i, pp. 519-21, 531.



THE MĀRTĀNDA TEMPLE OF THE SUN, KASHMĪR

distress at his failure. Next year, 1205-6 A. D. (602 A. H.), he was assassinated.[1] Subsequent Muhammadan incursions were equally unsuccessful, and the kingdom retained its autonomy until 1816, when the Burmese appeared and occupied the country until 1824. They were expelled by British troops, and early in 1825 Assam became a province of the Indian empire.

IV

Kashmīr

Kashmīr early history.

A detailed account of the history of Kashmīr would fill a volume; in this place a brief notice of some of the leading passages will suffice. The valley had been included in the Maurya empire in the time of Asoka, and again in the Kushān dominion in the days of Kanishka and Huvishka. Harsha, although not strong enough to annex Kashmīr, was yet able to compel the king to surrender a cherished relic, an alleged tooth of Buddha, which was carried off to Kanauj. The authentic chronicles of the kingdom begin with the Karkota dynasty, which was founded by Durlabhavardhana during Harsha's lifetime. This prince and his son Durlabhaka are credited with long reigns.

720 A. D. Chandrāpīda; 733-69 A. D. Muktāpīda.

The latter was succeeded by his three sons in order; the eldest of whom, Chandrāpīda, received investiture as king from the emperor of China in 720; by whom the third son Muktāpīda, also known as Lalitāditya, was similarly honoured in 733. This prince, who is said to have reigned for thirty-six years, extended the power of Kashmīr far beyond its normal mountain limits, and about the year 740 inflicted a crushing defeat upon Yasovarman, king of Kanauj.[2] He also vanquished the Tibetans, Bhūtias, and the Turks on the Indus. His memory has been perpetuated by the famous Mārtānda temple of the Sun, which was built by him, and still exists. The acts of this king, and all that he did, and something more, are set forth at large in Kalhana's chronicle.

[1] Raverty, *transl. Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 560-73; *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlv, part i (1876), pp. 330-3; Blochmann, ibid., vol. xliv, part i (1875), pp. 279-85. I accept Major Raverty's chronology.

[2] Between 736 and 747 (Lévi and Chavannes, 'Itinéraire d'Oukong,' in *J. A.*, 1895, p. 353).

Jayāpīḍa, close of the eighth century.

Jayāpīḍa, or Vinayāditya, the grandson of Muktāpīda, is credited with even more adventures than those ascribed to his grandfather. Probably it is true that he defeated and dethroned the king of Kanauj, apparently Vajrāyudha. But the romantic tale of his visit incognito to the capital of Paundravardhana in Bengal, the modern Rājshāhi District, then the seat of government of a king named Jayanta, who is unknown to sober history, seems to be purely imaginary. The legend of his expedition against a king of Nepāl, with the strange name Aramudi, of his capture and imprisonment in a stone castle, and of his marvellous escape, equally belongs to the domain of romance. The details of the acts of cruelty and oppression, due to avarice, which disgraced the later years of his reign read like matters of fact, and unhappily are quite in accordance with the low moral standard of most of the rulers of Kashmīr. The chronicler closes his narrative with the following quaint comment:—

> 'Such was for thirty-one years the reign of this famous king, who could not restrain his will. Princes and fishes, when their thirst is excited by riches and impure water respectively, leave their place and follow evil ways, with such result that they are brought into the strong net of death—the former by changes which fate dictates, and the latter by troops of fishermen.'

The substantial existence of Jayāpīda is testified by the survival of multitudes of exceedingly barbarous coins inscribed with his title Vinayāditya.[1]

855–83 A.D. Avantivarman.

The reign of Avantivarman, in the latter part of the ninth century, was notable for his enlightened patronage of literature, and for the beneficent schemes of drainage and irrigation carried out by Suyya, his minister of public works.[2]

883–302 A.D. Śankaravarman.

The next king, Sankaravarman, distinguished himself in war; but is chiefly remembered as the author of an ingenious system of fiscal oppression, and the plunderer of temple treasures. The details of his exactions are worth reading

[1] Stein, *transl. Rājatar.*, bk. IV; *Catal. Coins I. M.*, vol. i, pp. 266, 269.

[2] Stein, *transl Rājatar.*, bk. v, vv 2–126

as proving the capacity of an Oriental despot without a conscience for unlimited and ruthless extortion.[1]

End of the Shāhiya dynasty

During his reign, the last of the Turkī Shahiya kings, the descendants of Kanishka, was overthrown by the Brahman, Lalliya. These Turkī Shahiyā kings had ruled in Kābul until the capture of that city by the Arab general, Yakūb-i-Lāis in 870 A.D. (256 A.H.).[2] After that date the capital was shifted to Ohind, on the Indus. The dynasty founded by Lalliya, known as that of the Hindu Shāhiyas, lasted until 1021 A.D., when it was extirpated by the Muhammadans.[3]

Famine in 917–8 A.D.

During the reign of the child-king Pārtha and his father Pangu the regent, an awful famine occurred in the year 917–8 A.D., thus described by the Brahman historian of a Hindu government:—

'One could scarcely see the water in the Vitastā (Jihlam), entirely covered as the river was with corpses soaked and swollen by the water in which they had long been lying. The land became densely covered with bones in all directions, until it was like one great burial ground, causing terror to all beings. The king's ministers and the Tantrins (Praetorian guards) became wealthy, as they amassed riches by selling stores of rice at high prices. The king would take that person as minister who raised the sums due on the Tantrins' bills, by selling the subjects in such a condition. As one might look from his hot bath-room upon all the people outside distressed by the wind and rain of a downpour in the forest, thus for a long time the wretched Pangu, keeping in his palace, praised his own comfort while he saw the people in misery.'[4]

This gruesome picture may give cause for reflection to some critics of modern methods of famine relief.

Unmattāvanti, 937–9 A.D.

Pārtha chastised his people with whips, but his son Unmattāvanti, 'who was worse than wicked,' chastised them with scorpions. 'With difficulty,' sighs the chronicler, 'I get my song to proceed, since from fear of touching the evil

[1] Stein, *transl Rājatar.*, bk. v, vv. 128–227.

[2] Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 63, 64

[3] Stein, *Zur Geschichte der Çahis von Kābul* (Stuttgart, 1893).

[4] Stein, *transl. Rājat.*, bk v, vv. 271–7.

of this king's story it keeps back like a frightened mare.' Parricide was one of his many crimes. The details of his brutalities are too disgusting for quotation. Happily his reign was short, and he died the victim of a painful disease in 939 A.D.[1]

950-1003 A.D. Queen Diddā.

During the latter half of the tenth century, power was in the hands of an unscrupulous queen, named Diddā, the granddaughter of a Shāhiya king, who, first as a queen-consort, then as regent, and ultimately as sovereign for twenty-three years, misgoverned the unhappy state for half a century.

1003-28 A.D. Sangrāma

In the reign of her nephew, Sangrāma, the kingdom suffered an attack from Mahmūd of Ghaznī; and, although its troops were defeated by the invader, preserved its independence, which was protected by the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers.

1063-89 A.D. Kalasa; 1089-1101 A.D. Harsha.

During the eleventh century, Kashmīr, which has been generally unfortunate in its rulers, endured unspeakable miseries at the hands of the tyrants Kalasa and Harsha. The latter, who was evidently insane, imitated Sankaravarman in the practice of plundering temples, and rightly came to a miserable end. Few countries can rival the long Kashmīr list of kings and queens who gloried in shameless lust, fiendish cruelty, and pitiless misrule.

1339 A.D. Muhammadan local dynasty.

A local Muhammadan dynasty obtained power in 1339, and the religion of Islam gradually spread in the valley during the fourteenth century; but the natural defences of the kingdom effectually guarded it against the ambition of the sovereigns of India, until Akbar conquered it in 1587, and incorporated it in the Moghal empire.[2]

[1] Stein, *transl. Rājatar.*, bk. v, vv. 414-48.

[2] Full details of Kashmīr history will be found in the text and commentary of Stein's translation of the *Rājataranginī*.

V

The kingdoms of Kanauj (Pañchāla), the Panjāb, Ajmēr, Delhi, and Gwālior; Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan.

Before proceeding to discuss the history of the kingdom of Kanauj, it will be well to give some account of the famous capital city, which is now represented by a petty Muhammadan country town (N. lat. 27° 2′ 30,″ E. long 79° 58′) in the Farrukhābād District of the United Provinces. Its destruction was so complete that nothing beyond rubbish heaps remains to testify to the former existence of its gorgeous temples, monasteries, and palaces. Commentators usually take it for granted that Kanauj is mentioned twice in Ptolemy's *Geography*, written about 140 A.D., under the variant names of Kanagora and Kanogiza,[1] but there is little reason to warrant the belief, and it is very doubtful if the city existed in the second century A.D. The first certain mention of it is in the *Travels* of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who visited Kanauj about 405 A.D., during the reign of Chandra-gupta II, Vikramāditya. His remark that the city possessed only three Buddhist monasteries of the Hīnayāna school and one *stūpā* suggests that it was not of much importance at the beginning of the fifth century.[2] Probably it grew under the patronage of the Gupta kings, but the great development of the city clearly was due to its selection by Harsha for his capital. When Hiuen Tsang stayed there, in 638 and 643, a great change had occurred since Fa-hien's time. The later pilgrim, instead of three monasteries, found upwards of a hundred such institutions, crowded by more than 10,000 brethren of both the great schools. Hinduism flourished as well as Buddhism, and could show more than two hundred temples, with thousands of worshippers. The city, which was strongly fortified, extended along the east bank of the Ganges for about four

Kanauj city.

[1] Bk. vii, ch. 1, sec. 52; ch. 2, sec. 22; transl. McCrindle, *Ind Ant.*, xiii, 352, 380.

[2] *Travels*, ch. xviii.

miles, and was adorned with lovely gardens and clear tanks. The inhabitants were well-to-do, including some families of great wealth; they dressed in silk, and were skilled in learning and the arts.[1]

Captured and destroyed.

Although Kanauj had been captured several times by hostile armies during the ninth and tenth centuries, it recovered quickly from its wounds, and when Mahmūd appeared before its walls, at the end of 1018 A.D., was still a great and stately city, defended by seven distinct forts and reputed to contain 10,000 temples. The Sultan destroyed the temples, but seems to have spared the city. The removal of the capital of Panchāla to Bārī must have greatly reduced the population and importance of Kanauj, although it revived to some extent under the rule of the Gaharwār Rājas in the twelfth century. The final sack of the city in 1193 A.D. (589 A.H.), by Shihāb-ud-dīn, reduced it to desolation and insignificance for ever.

Kingdom of Pañchāla.

Kanauj, although it twice attained the dignity of being the capital of Northern India, for the first time under Harsha in the seventh century, and for the second time under Mihira Bhoja and Mahendrapāla in the ninth and tenth centuries, was primarily the capital of the kingdom of Panchāla. According to the story told in the *Mahābhārata*, Northern Panchāla, with its capital Ahichchhatra, fell to the share of Drona, while Southern Panchāla, with its capital Kāmpilya, became the kingdom of Drupada. Ahichchhatra, the modern Rāmnagar in the Barēli (Bareilly) District, was still a considerable town when visited by Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century. Little is known about the history of Kāmpilya, apparently the modern Kampil in the Farrukhābād District.[2] Both the ancient capitals were thrown into obscurity by the rapid development of Kanauj under Harsha's rule, and after his time that city was the undisputed capital of Panchāla.

Anarchy after Harsha's death.

Harsha's death, in 648 A.D., was followed by a period of disturbance and anarchy throughout his wide dominions.

1 *Watters*, i, 340; *Beal*, i, 206.
2 Cunningham, *Archaeol. S. Rep.*, xi, 11.

We do not know what happened to the kingdom of Panchāla immediately after the suppression of the usurper, about 650 A.D., by the Chinese ambassador with the help of his Nepalese and Tibetan allies, as related in the thirteenth chapter. Early in the eighth century a ruler of Kanauj named Harchandar is mentioned, but nothing is known about him.[1]

Rājas of Kanauj in the eighth century.

The successor of Harchandar seems to have been Yasovarman, who sent an embassy to China in 731 A.D.,[2] and nine or ten years later was dethroned by Lalitāditya Muktāpīda of Kashmīr.[3] In the history of Sanskrit literature Yasovarman's name holds an honoured place as that of the patron of Bhavabhūti, the famous author of the *Mālatīmādhava*, and of Vākpatirāja, a less renowned author who wrote in Prākrit. The next occupant of the throne of Kanauj apparently was Vajrāyudha, who, like his predecessor, suffered the fate of defeat and dethronement by a king of Kashmīr, Jayāpīda.[4] Similar ill-luck attended his successor, Indrāyudha, who is known to have been reigning in 783 A.D., and was dethroned, about 800 A.D., by Dharmapāla, King of Bengal and Bihār. The eastern monarch, while probably insisting on a right to homage and tribute, did not keep the administration of Panchāla in his own hands, but entrusted it to Chakrāyudha, presumably a relative of the defeated Rāja. The new ruler was consecrated with the consent of the kings of all the neighbouring states.[5] His fortune was no better than that of his predecessors. About 810 A.D. he was deprived of his throne by Nāgabhata, the ambitious king of the Gurjara-Pratihāra

[1] *Chach-nāmah*, in Elliot, *Hist. of India*, i, 208.

[2] Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 166, note 7.

[3] Stein, transl. *Rājatar*., bk. iv, vv. 133-46.

[4] Konow and Lanman, *Karpūramañjarī*, iii, 5², p. 218; 'to the capital of Vajrāyudha, the king of Panchāla, to Kanauj.' Stein, transl. *Rājat*., bk. iv, 471, records the defeat and dethronement of the king of Kanauj by Jayāpīda. The king of Kanauj apparently must have been Vajrāyudha.

[5] 783 A.D., Jain *Harivaṁśa* in *Bomb. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part i, p. 197 note; Bhāgalpur copper-plate (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, 304; xx, 188); Khālimpur copper-plate (*Ep. Ind.*, iv, 252, note 3).

kingdom in Rājputāna,[1] the capital of which was at Bhīlmāl, the Pi-lo-mo-lo of Hiuen Tsang.[2]

Nāga-bhata and Rāma-bhadra.

Nāgabhata presumably transferred the head quarters of his government to Kanauj, which certainly was the capital of his successors for many generations, and so became for a considerable time the premier city of Northern India. During the reign of Nāgabhata the chronic warfare between the Gurjaras, descendants of foreign invaders, and the Rāshtrakūtas (Rāthōrs) of the Deccan, representing the indigenous ruling races, continued, and the southern king, Govinda III, claims to have won a victory over his northern rival early in the ninth century.[3] Nothing particular is recorded about Nāgabhata's successor, Rāmabhadra (Rāmadeva), who reigned from about 825 to 840 A. D.

Mihira-Bhoja.

The next king, Rāmabhadra's son Mihira, usually known by his title Bhoja, enjoyed a long reign of about half a century (cir. 840–90), and beyond question was a very powerful monarch, whose dominions may be called an 'empire' without exaggeration. They certainly included the Cis-Sutlaj districts of the Panjāb, most of Rājputāna, the greater part, if not the whole, of the present United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the Gwālior territory. The next two kings being known to have held the remote province of Surāshtra, or Kāthiāwār, in the extreme west, the possession of which implies control over Gujarāt and Mālava or Avanti, it is highly probable that these distant regions also were subject to the sway of Bhoja. On the east his dominions abutted on the realm of Devapāla, king of Bengal and Bihār; on the north-west his boundary probably was the Sutlaj river; on the west the lost Hakrā or Wahindah river separated his territories from those of his enemies, the Muhammadan chiefs of Sind; on the south-west

[1] Gwālior inscription, *Nachr. d. k. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Gottingen*, 1905, 'Epigr. Notes,' No. 17; *Archaeol. S., Annual Rep.*, 1903–4, p. 277.

[2] A. M. T. Jackson, 'Bhinmāl,' *Bom. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part i, App. I agree with Mr. Jackson that the identity of Bhīnmāl (Bhīlmāl) with *Pi-lo-mo-lo* is established. See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, ii, 250.

[3] Unpublished inscription in possession of Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar ('Gurjaras,' p. 4, in *J. Bo. Br. As. Soc.*, vol. xx).

his powerful Rāshtrakūta rival, the ally of the Muhammadans, kept his armies continually on the alert; while on the south his next neighbour was the growing Chandēl kingdom of Jejākabhukti, the modern Bundelkhand, which probably acknowledged his suzerainty.[1] Bhoja liked to pose as an incarnation of Vishnu, and therefore assumed the title of *Ādi Varāha*, 'the primæval boar,' one of the incarnations of the god. Base silver coins inscribed with this title are exceedingly common in Northern India, and by their abundance attest the long duration and wide extension of Bhoja's rule.[2] Unfortunately no Megasthenes or Bāna has left a record of the nature of his internal government, and it is impossible to compare the polity of Bhoja with that of his great forerunners.

Mahendrapāla.

Bhoja's son and successor, Mahendrapāla (Mahendrāyudha) preserved unimpaired the extensive heritage received from his father, and ruled all Northern India, except the Panjāb and Indus valley, from the borders of Bihār (Magadha) to the shore of the Arabian sea. His teacher (*Guru*) was the celebrated poet Rājasekhara, author of the *Karpūra-manjarī* play and other works, who continued to reside at the court of Mahendrapāla's younger son.[3]

Bhoja II and Mahīpāla.

The throne was occupied for two or three years by Bhoja II, elder son of Mahendrapāla; but he died early, and was succeeded by his half-brother, Mahīpāla (*cir.* 910-40 A. D.).[4] The beginning of the decline and fall of the empire of Kanauj dates from his reign. In 916 A. D. the armies of the Rāshtrakūta king, Indra III, once more captured Kanauj, and gave a severe blow to the power of the Pratihāra dynasty.[5] Surāshtra,

[1] These facts are collected from a series of inscriptions, Nos. 542, 544, 710 of Kielhorn's List (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. v, App.), and others. For the relations of the native powers with the Muhammadans see Al Masūdī in *Elliot*, i, 23–5; *Bom. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part i, pp. 506, 518, 526.

[2] *Catal. Coins I.M.*, vol. i, pp. 233, 241.

[3] Konow and Lanman, *Karpūra-mañjarī*, p. 178. But the remark (p. 179) that Mahendrapāla of Mahodaya must be distinguished from the king of that name in the Dighwa-Dubauli copper-plate has been proved to be erroneous.

[4] Inscription No. 544 of Kielhorn's *List*.

[5] Cambay plates *Ep. Ind*, vii, 30, 43).

which was still subject to Mahīpāla in 914,[1] probably was lost along with other remote provinces, in consequence of the successes gained by the southern monarch. Indra III did not attempt to hold Kanauj, and Mahīpāla recovered his capital with the aid of the Chandēl king, and probably other allies.[2]

Devapāla. The waning power of Kanauj and the waxing strength of Jejākabhukti are shown by the incident that the next king of Kanauj, Devapāla (*cir.* 940–55), was obliged to surrender a much prized image of Vishnu to the Chandēl king, Yasovarman, who enshrined it in one of the finest temples at Khajurāho.[3] Yasovarman had established his power by the occupation of the strong fortress of Kālanjar, and no doubt became absolutely independent of Kanauj. In the reign of Dhanga, the successor of Yasovarman, the Jumna is known to have formed the boundary between the territories of Panchāla and those of Jejākabhukti.

Vijayapāla. Devapāla was succeeded by his brother, Vijayapāla (*cir.* 955–90 A.D.), whose reign is marked by the loss of Gwālior, the ancient possession of his house, which was captured by a Kachchhwāha (Kachchhapaghāta) chief named Vajradāman,[4] the founder of a local dynasty which held the fortress until 1128 A.D. The establishment of the Solankī (Chaulukya) kingdom of Anhilwāra in Gujarāt by Mūlarāja, in 961 A.D., shows that the king of Kanauj no longer had any concern with Western India. The Gwālior chieftain became a feudatory of the Chandēl monarchy, which, under Dhanga (*cir.* 1000–1050), evidently was stronger than its rival of Kanauj.

Muhammadan invasions. At this period the politics of the Hindu Rājpūt states of Northern India became complicated by the intrusion of Muhammadan invaders. The Arab conquest of Sind, in 712 A.D., did not very seriously affect the kingdoms of the interior. The Arabs maintained friendly relations on the whole with their powerful Rāshtrakūta neighbours on the

[1] Inscription No. 353 in Kielhorn's *List*.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, i, 121.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, i, 134.

[4] Inscription No. 47 of Kielhorn's *List*.

south, and their attacks on the dominions of the Gurjara kings of Rājputāna and Kanauj, do not seem ever to have exceeded the proportions of frontier raids. But now the armies of Islam began to appear in more formidable fashion through the north-western passes, the gates which had so often admitted the enemies of India.

Sabuktigīn and Jaipāl.

In these days a large kingdom comprising the upper valley of the Indus and most of the Panjāb to the north of Sindh, extending westward to the mountains and eastward to the Hakrā river, was governed by a Rāja named Jaipāl, whose capital was at Bathindah (Bhatinda), a town situated to the SSE. of Lahore and westward from Patiālā. Sabuktigīn, the Sultan of Ghaznī, made his first raid into Indian territory in 986–7 A.D. (376 A.H.). Two years later Jaipāl retaliated by an invasion of the Sultan's territory, but, being defeated, was compelled to accept a treaty binding him to pay a large sum in cash, and to surrender a number of elephants and four fortresses to the west of the Indus. Jaipāl having broken the compact, Sabuktigīn punished him by the devastation of the frontier and the annexation of Lamghān (Jalālābād). Soon afterwards (*cir.* 991 A.D.) Jaipāl made a final effort to save his country by organizing a great confederacy of Hindu princes, including Ganda, the Chandēl king, Rājyapāla, now the king of Kanauj, and others. The vast host thus collected was disastrously defeated in or near the Kurram (Kurmah) valley, and Peshāwar was occupied by the Muhammadans. Jaipāl committed suicide and was succeeded by his son Ānandpāl.[1]

Rājyapāla; Sultan Mahmūd.

At Kanauj, Vijayapāla had been succeeded by his son Rājyapāla, who took his share in opposing the foreign invader. A few years later (999 A.D.) the crown of the Sultan Sabuktigīn descended, after a short interval of dispute, to his son, the famous Mahmūd, who made it the business of his life to harry the idolaters of India, and carry off their property to Ghaznī. He is computed to have made no less than seventeen expeditions into India. It was his

[1] This summary statement, so far as it differs from current accounts, rests upon the authority of Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 320.

custom to leave his capital in October, and then three months' steady marching brought him into the richest provinces of the interior. Late in December, 1018 A.D., he appeared before Kanauj. Rājyapāla made no serious attempt to defend his capital, and the seven forts which guarded it all fell into Mahmūd's hands in a single day. The conqueror destroyed the temples but spared the city, and quickly returned to Ghaznī laden with booty. Rājyapāla made the best terms that he could obtain, abandoned Kanauj, and retired to Bārī on the other side of the Ganges.[1]

Ganda and Mahmūd.

The pusillanimous submission of Rājyapāla incensed his Hindu allies, who felt that he had betrayed their cause. His fault was sternly punished by an army under the command of Vidhyādhara, heir-apparent of the Chandēl king, Ganda, supported by the forces of his feudatory, the chief of Gwālior, which attacked Kanauj in the spring or summer of 1019 A.D., soon after the departure of Sultan Mahmūd, and slew Rājyapāla, whose diminished dominions passed under the rule of his son Trilochanapāla. The Sultan was furious when he heard of the punishment inflicted on a prince whom he regarded as a vassal, and in the autumn of 1019 A.D. (410 A.H.) started again from Ghaznī to take vengeance on the Hindu chiefs. Early in 1020 A.D. he captured Bārī, the new Pratihāra capital without much difficulty, and then advanced into the Chandēl territory, where Ganda had assembled an apparently formidable force to oppose him. But the heart of the Chandēl king failed him, and, like Rājyapāla, he fled from the field without giving battle. His camp, munitions, and elephants were left a prey to the

[1] The name Rājyapāla is obtained from the Jhūsī copper-plate (*Ind Ant.*, xviii, 34, Kielhorn's *List*, No. 60) and the Dūbkund inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, ii, 235). Hitherto it has been misread as 'Rāi Jaipāl' in Al Utbi (*Elliot*, i, 45), with the result that much confusion has occurred. Elliot (ibid., pp. 425–7, 461) mixes up the dynasty of Bathindah with that of the Shāhiyas of Ohind, commonly called 'of Kābul', and so renders the whole story unintelligible. The inscriptions were not known when he wrote, and all subsequent writers have perpetuated his error. The version of the *Tabakāt-i-Akbari* is given by Elliot (ibid., 460). The retirement to Bārī is recorded by Alberūnī and Rashīd-ud-dīn. I hope to treat the matter more fully in another publication.

Sultan, who returned as usual to Ghaznī with heaps of spoil.[1]

Successors of Rājyapāla.

Nothing is known about Trilochanapāla except that he made the grant of a village near Allāhābād in 1027 A.D.[2] A Rāja named Yasahpāla, who is mentioned in an inscription of 1036 A.D., may have been his immediate successor.[3] Other obscure Rājas, whose names have not been recorded, no doubt continued to govern a small principality from either Bārī or Kanauj. The next recorded event is the seizure of the latter city, about 1090 A.D., by a Rāja of the Gaharwār clan, named Chandradeva, who established his authority certainly over Benares and Ajodhya, and perhaps over the Delhi territory.[4] The city of Delhi had been founded a century earlier, in 993–4 A.D.[5]

Gaharwār dynasty of Kanauj.

The Gaharwār dynasty, often miscalled Rāthōr,[6] thus founded by Chandradeva lasted until the final destruction of Kanauj by Shihāb-ud-dīn, in 1193 A.D. (589 A.H.), Govindachandra, grandson of Chandradeva, enjoyed a long reign, which included the years 1114 and 1154 A.D. His numerous land grants and widely distributed coins prove that

[1] The history is obtained from the Chandēl inscriptions in *Ep. Ind.*, i, 219; ii, 235, combined with the Muhammadan accounts in *Elliot*, vol. i, pp. 464, 467. The dates are often stated erroneously by English authors.

[2] Inscription No. 60 of Kielhorn's *List*. Cunningham (*Coins of Med. India*, p. 61) confounds Trilochanapāla of Kanauj with the prince of the same name who was the last of the Shāhiyas of Ohind.

[3] Colebrooke, *Essays*, ii, 246.

[4] Inscription No. 75 of Kielhorn's *List*; *Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 13.

[5] *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 320 The late Major Raverty informed me that his authority for the date was the *Zain-ul-Akbar* by Abū S'aīd-i-Abū-l Hakk, who wrote his history in the time of Sultan Mahmūd and his sons, not many years after the date stated. Another more modern writer dates the foundation in the year 440 of Bikramajit, which, of course, is absurd; but if the figures are taken as referring to the Harsha era, the date would be 1046 A. D., about the time of Ānangapāla.

[6] The 'Rāthōr dynasty of Kanauj' commonly mentioned in books is a myth. The Rājas belonged to the Gahadavāla or Gaharwār clan, as is expressly affirmed in the Basāhi copper-plate grant of Govindachandra dated 1161 V. E. = 1104 A. D. (No. 77 of *List*; *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 103). The appellation 'Rāthōr' applied to the Kanauj Rājas is due solely to the claim made by the 'Rāthōr' chiefs of Jodhpur to be descended from Rāja Jaichand (Jayachchandra, *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 98–101) through a boy who escaped massacre. Stories of this kind are commonplaces of family traditions and historically worthless. No Tomara dynasty of Kanauj ever existed.

he succeeded to a large extent in restoring the glories of Kanauj, and in making himself a power of considerable importance.[1]

The grandson of Govindachandra was Jayachchandra, renowned in the popular Hindī poems and tales of Northern India as Rāja Jaichand, whose daughter was carried off by the gallant Rāi Pithōra of Ajmēr. After the capture of Kanauj in 1193 Jaichand retired towards Benares, but was overtaken and slain. Thus ends the story of Kanauj.

Chauhāns of Sāmbhar and Ajmēr; Delhi.

Inscriptions record the genealogy of a long line of Rājpūt kings belonging to the Chauhān (Chāhumāna) clan who governed the principality of Sāmbhar (Sākambharī) in Rājputāna, to which Ajmēr was attached. Only two of these chiefs demand notice. Vigraha-rāja (Vīsaladeva, Bīsal Dēo), in the middle of the twelfth century, extended his ancestral dominions considerably, and conquered Delhi from a chief of the Tomara clan. That chief was a descendant of Ānangapāla, who, a century earlier, had built the Red Fort, where the Kutb mosque now stands, and thus given permanence to the city which had been founded in 993–4 A.D.[2] Europeans are so accustomed to associate the name of Delhi with the sovereignty of India that they do not easily realize the fact that Delhi is among the most modern of the great Indian cities. Vague legends, it is true, irradiate the lands along the bank of the Jumna near the village of Indarpat with the traditional glories of the prehistoric Indraprastha, and these stories may or may not have some substantial basis. But, as an historical city, Delhi dates only from the time of Ānangapāla in the middle of the eleventh century. The celebrated iron pillar, on which the eulogy of Chandra-gupta Vikramāditya is incised, was removed by the Tomara chief from its original position, probably at Mathurā, and set up in 1052 A.D. as an adjunct to a group of temples, from the materials of which the Muhammadans afterwards constructed the great mosque.[3]

[1] Fifty-five grants made by the dynasty are known, most of which belong to Govindachandra's reign. For the coins, see *Catal. Coins I.M.*, vol. i, pp. 257, 260.

[2] For the genealogy, see Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, viii, 'Supplement to Northern List,' p. 13.

[3] The traditional story of the foundation of Delhi by an imaginary

Vigraha-rāja, or Vīsaladeva, who wrested Delhi from the Tomaras, was a man of considerable distinction. Some years ago, during the progress of repairs executed at the principal mosque of Ajmēr, six slabs of polished black marble were discovered bearing inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prākrit, which on examination proved to be large portions of two unknown dramas. One of these, the *Lalita-Vigraha-rāja-nātaka* was composed in honour of Vigraha-rāja, while the other, the *Harakali-nātaka*, professes to be the composition of that prince himself.[1]

Vigraha-rāja, or Vīsala-deva.

The nephew of this literary warrior was Prithivī-rāja, Prithīrāj, or Rāi Pithōra, lord of Sāmbhar, Delhi, and Ajmēr, famous in song and story as a chivalrous lover and doughty champion. His fame as a bold lover rests upon his daring abduction of the not unwilling daughter of Jaichand, the Gaharwār Rāja of Kanauj, which occurred in or about 1175 A.D. His reputation as a general is securely founded upon his defeat of the Chandēl Rāja, Parmāl, and the capture of Mahoba in 1182, as well as upon gallant resistance to the flood of Muhammadan invasion. Indeed, Rāi Pithōra may be described with justice as the popular hero of Northern India, and his exploits in love and war are the subject of rude epics and bardic lays to this day.[2]

Prithivī-rāja, or Rāi Pithōra.

Ānangapāla I is fictitious. The earliest remains, excepting the transported Iron Pillar, date from the eleventh century (*J. R. A. S.*, 1897, p. 13). For the Red Fort (Lālkot), see Cunningham, *Reports* i, 153. For Indarpat, see Carr Stephens, *Archaeology of Delhi*, pp. 1-8 ; Fanshawe, *Delhi Past and Present* (1902), p. 228. There was no Tomara dynasty of Kanauj. Cunningham's argument (*Reports*, i, 150) rests mainly on the misreading of Rāi Jaipāl for Rājyapāl in Al Utbi.

[1] Kielhorn, *Bruchstücke indischer Schauspiele in Inschriften zu Ajmere* (Berlin, 1901).

[2] The best known work dealing with Prithirāj is the *Chand-Rāisā*, or *Prithirāj-Rāisā*, a Hindī epic, extremely popular in the United Provinces. The authorship is attributed to Chand Bardāi, who is said to have been the court poet of his patron. Opinion is divided as to the authenticity of the work in its present form (Grierson, *The Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, p. 3 ; being a special number of *J. A. S. B.*, part i, 1888). The supposed chronological errors in the *Rāisā* are explained by the discovery that the author used the Ānanda Vikrama era of Prithīrāj, equivalent roughly to 33 A. D., and so 90-1 years later than the ordinary Sānanda Vikrama era of 58-57 B. C. (*J. R. A. S.*, 1906, p. 500). Bühler regarded as more authoritative the Sanskrit work from Kashmīr, entitled *Prithivīrāja-vijaya*, the

Battles of Tarāīn or Talāwarī.

The dread inspired by the victorious Musalman army under the command of Shihāb-ud-dīn, who was now undisputed master of the greater part of the Punjāb, constrained the jarring states of Northern India to lay aside their quarrels and combine for a moment against the foreign foe. At first fortune smiled on the Indians; and in 1191 A.D. (587 A.H.) Prithivī-rāja succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat upon the invaders at Tarāīn or Talāwarī between Thānēsar and Karnāl, which forced them to retire beyond the Indus. A year later, in 1192 A.D. (588 A.H.), the Sultan, having returned with a fresh force, again encountered on the same field Prithivī-rāja, who was at the head of an immense host, swollen by contingents from numerous confederate princes. A vigorous charge by twelve thousand well-armed Musalman horsemen repeated the lesson given by Alexander long ages before, and demonstrated the inability of a mob of Indian militia to stand the onset of trained cavalry. Prithivī-rāja, having been taken prisoner, was executed in cold blood, and the wretched inhabitants of his capital Ajmēr were either put to the sword or sold into slavery.[1]

author of which was 'certainly a contemporary of Prithivī-rāja and one of his court poets'. His genealogical statements agree with the inscriptions (*Proc. A. S. B.*, 1893, p. 94). So far as I know, this work has not been edited. The correct lineage of Prithivī-rāja according to the *Prithivīrāja-vijaya* is :—

Arṇorāja
- Unnamed son, parricide,
  - Prithivī-rāja I
- Vigraha-rāja or Vīsaladeva
- Someśvara, m. princess of Chedi
  - Prithivī-rāja II or Rāi Pithōra
  - Hari-rāja

Chand's statement that Rāi Pithōra (Prithīrāj) was the son of the daughter of Ānangapāla, king of Delhi, seems to be untrue (Buhler, *Proc. A. S. B*, 1893, p. 94).

[1] Raverty, transl. *Tabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, pp. 456, 459, 467, 468, 485, 486, and App. A. Most English books give the dates inaccurately and miscall the battle-field Tirauri. 587, 588, and 589 A. H., are almost exactly equivalent to the years 1191-3 A. D., extending from 29th January, 1191, to 27th December, 1193. A Hindu tale that Prithivī-rāja was taken to Ghaznī, where he shot the Sultan, and was then cut to pieces, is false, Sultan Shihāb-ud-dīn was assassinated at the halting-place of Damyek, in the year 602 (1205-6 A. D.), by a fanatic of the Mulāhidah sect. The phrase attributed to Firishtah by his translator that 'this prodigious army,

In 1193 A.D. (589 A.H.), both Delhi and Kanauj fell. Benares, the holy citadel of Hinduism, in the same year became the prize of the victors, who could now feel confident that the final triumph of the arms of Islam over 'the land of the Brahmans' was assured. The surrender of Gwālior in 1196, the capture in 1197 of Anhilwāra the capital of Gujarāt, and the capitulation of Kālanjar in 1203 completed the reduction of Upper India, and when Shihāb-ud-dīn died, 1205-6 A.D. (602 A.H.), he— Conquest of Hindustan.

'Held, in different degrees of subjection, the whole of Hindustan Proper, except Mālwā and some contiguous districts. Sind and Bengal were either entirely subdued, or in rapid course of reduction. On Gujarāt he had no hold, except what is implied in the possession of the capital (Anhilwāra or Nahrwāla). Much of Hindustan was immediately under his officers, and the rest under dependent or at least tributary princes. The desert and some of the mountains were left independent from neglect.'[1]

An important consequence of the capture of Kanauj was the migration of the bulk of the Gaharwār clan to the deserts of Mārwār in Rājputāna, where they settled and became known as Rāthōrs. The state so founded, now generally designated by the name of its capital, Jodhpur, is one of the most important principalities of Rājputāna. Similar clan movements, necessitated by the pressure of Muhammadan armies, were frequent at this period, and to a large extent account for the existing distribution of the Rājpūt clans. Migration of Gaharwārs.

once shaken, like a great building tottered to its fall, &c.', is not in the Persian.

[1] Elphinstone, *Hist. of India*, 5th ed., p. 338. Shihāb-ud-dīn is designated by an inconvenient variety of names and titles, as Muhammad, the son of Sām, Muhammad Ghorī, or Muizz-ud-dīn. Similarly, his elder brother and colleague, who was also named Muhammad, is known as both Shams-ud-dīn and Ghīyāṣ-ud-dunyā wa ud-dīn (Raverty, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlv, part 1, p. 238). The article cited fully justifies the chronology adopted in the text.

VI

The Chandēls of Jejākabhukti and the Kalachuris of Chedi

Jejākabhukti and Chedi.

The ancient name of the province between the Jumna and Narmadā, now known as Bundelkhand, was Jejākabhukti;[1] and the extensive region, further to the south, which is now under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, nearly corresponds with the old kingdom of Chedi. In the mediaeval history of these countries two dynasties—the Chandēls and the Kalachuris—which occasionally were connected by marriage, and constantly were in contact one with the other, whether as friends or enemies, are conspicuous. From the beginning of the eleventh century the Chedi country was divided into two kingdoms, Western Chedi, or Dāhāla, with its capital at Tripura, near Jabalpur, and Eastern Chedi, or Mahākosala, with its capital at Ratanpur.

Predecessors of the Chandēls.

The Chandēls, like several other dynasties, first come into notice early in the ninth century, when Nannuka Chandēl, about 831 A.D., overthrew a Parihār chieftain, and became lord of the southern parts of Jejākabhukti. The Parihār capital had been at Mau-Sahaniya between Nowgong (Naugāon) and Chhatarpur.[2] The predecessors of the Parihārs were Gaharwār Rājas, members of the clan which afterwards gave Kanauj the line of kings commonly miscalled Rāthōrs.

Chandēl temples and lakes.

The Chandēl princes were great builders, and beautified their chief towns, Mahoba, Kālanjar, and Khajurāho, with many magnificent temples and lovely lakes, formed by throwing massive dams across the openings between the hills. In this practice of building embankments and constructing lakes the Chandēls were imitators of the Gaharwārs, who are credited with the formation of some of the most charming lakes in Bundelkhand.

[1] i. e. the province of Jejāka; the name Jejāka or Jejā occurs in the inscriptions (*Ep. Ind.*, i, 121). Compare Tīrabhukti, Tirhūt. The name of the ruling clan is Chandēl in Hindī, Chandella in Sanskrit. It is better to use the Hindī form.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, 1881, part i, p. 6.

The Chandēls, who appear to have been Hinduized Gonds, first acquired a petty principality near Chhatarpur, and gradually advanced northwards until the Jumna became the frontier between their dominions and those of Kanauj. The earlier Rājas may have been subject to the suzerainty of Bhoja and Mahendrapāla, the powerful kings of Panchāla, but in the first half of the tenth century the Chandēls certainly had become independent. Harsha Chandēl, aided perhaps by other allies, helped Mahīpāla to recover the throne of Kanauj from which he had been driven by Indra III Rāshtrakūta in 916 A.D. Harsha's son and successor, Yasovarman, whose power had been greatly enhanced by the occupation of the fortress of Kālanjar, was strong enough to compel Mahipāla's successor, Devapāla, to surrender a valuable image of Vishnu, which the Chandēl king wanted for a temple built by him at Khajurāho. Yaśovarman.

King Dhanga, son of Yasovarman (950-99 A.D.), who lived to an age of more than a hundred years, was the most notable of his family. Some of the grandest temples at Khajurāho are due to his munificence, and he took an active part in the politics of his time. In 989 or 990 A.D. he joined the league formed by Jaipāl, king of the Panjāb, to resist Sabuktigīn, and shared with the Rājas of Ajmēr and Kanauj in the disastrous defeat which the allies suffered between Bannū and Ghaznī, in or near the Kurram (Kurmah) valley.[1] 950-99 A.D. Dhanga.

When Mahmūd of Ghaznī threatened to overrun India, Dhanga's son Ganda (999–1025) joined the new confederacy of Hindu princes organized by Ānand Pāl, son of Jaipāl, king of the Panjāb, in 1008–9 (399 A. H.), which also failed to stay the hand of the invader. Ten years later, as already narrated, Ganda's son attacked Kanauj and killed the Rāja, Rājyapāla, who had made terms with the Muhammadans; but early in 1023 (413 H.) was himself compelled to surrender the strong fortress of Kālanjar to Mahmūd,[2] who, however, 999-1025 A.D. Gaṇḍa.

[1] Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 320.

[2] *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* in *Elliot*, ii, 467, where 1021 A. D. is wrongly stated to be the equivalent of 413 A. H.

did not retain it or any of his conquests in the interior of India beyond the Panjāb.

1015-70 A.D. Gāngēyadeva and Karnadeva Kalachuri

Gāngēyadeva Kalachuri of Chedi (*circa* 1015-40), the contemporary of Ganda and his successors, was an able and ambitious prince, who seems to have aimed at attaining the position of paramount power in Upper India. In 1019 his suzerainty is supposed to have been recognized in distant Tirhūt;[1] and his projects of aggrandizement were taken up and proceeded with by his son Karnadeva (*circa* 1040-70), who joined Bhīma, king of Gujarāt, in crushing Bhoja, the learned king of Mālwā, about 1060 A.D.

1049-1100 A.D. Kīrtivarman Chandēl.

But some years later Karnadeva was taught the lesson of the mutability of fortune by suffering a severe defeat at the hands of Kīrtivarman Chandēl (1049-1100), who widely extended the dominion of his house. The earliest extant specimens of the rare Chandēl coinage were struck by this king in imitation of the issues of Gāngēyadeva of Chedi. Kīrtivarman is also memorable in literary history as the patron of the curious allegorical play entitled the *Prabodhachandrodaya*, or 'Rise of the Moon of Intellect', which was performed at his court, and gives in dramatic form a clever exposition of the Vedānta system of philosophy.[2]

1165-1203 A.D. Parmāl.

The last Chandēl king to play any considerable part upon the stage of history was Paramārdi, or Parmāl (1165-1203), whose reign is memorable for his defeat in 1182 by Prithivīrāja Chauhān, and for the capture of Kālanjar in 1203 (A.H. 599) by Kutb-ud-dīn Ībak.[3] The Chauhān and Chandēl war occupies a large space in the popular Hindī epic, the *Chand-Rāisā*, which is familiar to the people of Upper India.

1203 A.D. (spring). Capitulation of Kālanjar.

The account of the death of Parmāl and the capture of Kālanjar, as told by the contemporary Muhammadan

[1] Bendall, 'Hist. of Nepāl' (*J. A. S. B.*, 1903, part i, p. 18 of reprint). But M. Sylvain Lévi rejects Bendall's interpretation (*Le Népal*, ii, 202, note).

[2] A full abstract of the play is given by Sylvain Lévi (*Théâtre Indien*, pp. 229-35). See plate of coins, fig. 13.

[3] There is a variant reading 527 A.H. (1200-1201 A.D.) in the text of the *Tāj-ul-Maāsir* (Raverty, transl. *Tabakāt*, App. D).

historian, may be quoted as a good illustration of the process by which the Hindu kingdoms passed under the rule of their new Muslim masters:—

'"The accursed Parmār," the Rai of Kālanjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and placed "the collar of subjection" round his neck; and, on his promise of allegiance, was admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmūd Sabuktigīn, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Dīwān, or Mahtea, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. "On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty; . . . and the fort of Kālanjar, which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander," was taken. "The temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated. . . . Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery, and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus." Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors.

'The reins of victory were then directed towards Mahobā, and the government of Kālanjar was conferred on Hazabbar-ud-dīn Hasan Arnal. When Kutb-ud-dīn was satisfied with all the arrangements made in that quarter, he went towards Badāūn, "which is one of the mothers of cities, and one of the chiefest of the country of Hind."'[1]

Chandēl Rājas lingered on as purely local chiefs until the sixteenth century, but their affairs are of no general interest.[2] The last of the Chandēls.

[1] *Tāj-ul-Maāsir*, as abstracted by Elliot, *Hist. of India*, vol. ii, p. 231; Raverty, *transl. Ṭabaḳāt*, p. 523. The learned translator, usually so accurate, has made an unlucky slip in this passage by rendering the personal name Parmār as 'of the Pramārah race'. Kālanjar is in the Bānda district, N. lat. 25°, E. long. 80° 32′; Mahobā is in the Hamīrpur district.

[2] For Chandēl history, see especially *J. A. S. B.*, 1881, part I, pp. 1–53; Cunningham, *Archaeol.*

The Chandēl clan was scattered, and its most notable modern representative is the Rāja of Gidhaur, near Mungīr (Monghyr) in Bengal.

The last of the Kala-churis

The Kalachuri or Haihaya Rājas of Chedi are last mentioned in an inscription of the year 1181 A.D., and the manner of their disappearance is not exactly known; but there is reason to believe that they were supplanted by the Baghēls of Rēwā. The Hayobans Rājpūts of the Baliyā district in the east of the United Provinces claim descent from the Rājas of Ratanpur in the Central Provinces, and probably are really an offshoot of the ancient Haihaya race. The later kings of Chedi used an era according to which the year 1 was equivalent to 249–50 A.D. This era, also called the Traikūtaka, originated in Western India, where its use can be traced back to the fifth century.[1] The reason of its adoption by the kings of Chedi is not apparent.

VII

Paramāras (Pawārs) of Mālwā

cir. 820 A.D. Paramāra dynasty of Mālwā.

The Paramāra dynasty of Mālwā, the region north of the Narmadā, anciently known as Avanti, or the kingdom of Ujjain, is specially memorable by reason of its association with many eminent names in the history of later Sanskrit literature. The dynasty was founded by a chief named Upendra or Krishnarāja, early in the ninth century, when so many ruling families attract notice for the first time, and it lasted for about four centuries. Upendra appears to have come from Chandrāvatī and Achalgaṛh, near Mount Ābū, where his clan had been settled for a long time.

974–95 A.D. Rāja Muñja.

The seventh Rāja, named Munja, who was famous for his

Rep., vol. xxi; and sundry inscriptions in *Ep. Ind.*, vols. i, ii. A monograph on the subject by the author will appear shortly in the *Indian Antiquary*. The coins of the Chandēl and Chedi dynasties are fully discussed by Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 67–80; and the author, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxvi, part i (1897), p. 306; *Catal. Coins I. M.*, vol. i, pp. 250–5.

[1] For Kalachuri history, see Cunningham, *Reports*, vols. ix, x, xxi; and many inscriptions in *Ep. Ind.* For the era, see Fleet (*J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 566). For the Hayobans Rājputs, see Crooke, *Ethnographical Handbook* (Allāhābād, 1890), p. 156; *Tribes and Castes of the North-West Provinces and Oudh*, vol ii, p. 193.

learning and eloquence, was not only a patron of poets, but was himself a poet of no small reputation, and the anthologies include various compositions attributed to his pen. The author Dhanamjaya and his brother Dhanika were among the distinguished scholars who graced his court. His energies were not devoted solely to the peaceful pursuit of literature, much of his time being spent in fighting with his neighbours. Sixteen times the Chalukya king, Taila II, was defeated by him. The seventeenth attack failed, and Munja, who had crossed the Godāvarī, Taila's northern boundary, was defeated, captured, and executed about 995 A.D.[1]

1018-60 A.D. Rāja Bhoja.

The nephew of Munja, the famous Bhoja, ascended the throne of Dhārā, which was in those days the capital of Mālwā, about 1018 A.D., and reigned gloriously for more than forty years. Like his uncle, he cultivated with equal assiduity the arts of peace and war. Although his fights with the neighbouring powers, including one of the Muhammadan armies of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, are now forgotten, his fame as an enlightened patron of learning and a skilled author remains undimmed, and his name has become proverbial as that of the model king according to the Hindu standard. Works on astronomy, architecture, the art of poetry, and other subjects are attributed to him, and there is no doubt that he was a prince, like Samudragupta, of very uncommon ability. A mosque at Dhārā now occupies the site of Bhoja's Sanskrit college, which seems to have been held in a temple dedicated appropriately to Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning.[2]

Bhōjpur lake.

The great Bhōjpur lake, a beautiful sheet of water to the south-east of Bhopāl, covering an area of two hundred and

[1] Muñja had an embarrassing variety of names—Vākpati (II), Utpalarāja, Amoghavarsha, Prithivīvallabha, and Śrīvallabha. His accession took place in 974 A.D., and his death about twenty years later, between 994 and 997 (*Buhler*, in *Ep. Ind.*, i, 222–8, 294, 302; Fleet, 'Dynasties of Kanarese Districts,' 2nd ed., p. 432, in *Bom. Gaz.*, 1896, vol. i, part ii; Bhandarkar, 'Early Hist. of Dekkan,' ibid., p. 214).

[2] *Archaeol. S. Annual Rep.*, 1903–4, pp. 238–43. The most complete list of the works ascribed to Bhoja is said to be that in Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. i, p. 418, vol. ii, p. 95. For Bhoja's date and the history of his predecessor, Sindhurāja, see *Ind. Ant.*, 1907, pp. 170–2.

fifty square miles, formed by massive embankments closing the outlets in a circle of hills, was his noblest monument, and continued to testify to the skill of his engineers until the fifteenth century, when the dam was cut by order of a Muhammadan king, and the water drained off. The bed of the lake is now a fertile plain intersected by the Indian Midland Railway.[1]

Later history of Mālwā.

About 1060 A.D. this accomplished prince succumbed to an attack by the confederate kings of Gujarāt and Chedi; and the glory of his house departed. His dynasty lasted as a purely local power until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when it was superseded by chiefs of the Tomara clan, who were in their turn followed by Chauhān Rājas,[2] from whom the crown passed to Muhammadan kings in 1401. Akbar suppressed the local dynasty in 1569, and incorporated Mālwā in the Moghal empire.

VII

Pāla and Sena Dynasties of Bihār and Bengal

650 A.D. History of Bengal unknown.

Harsha, when at the height of his power, exercised a certain amount of control as suzerain over the whole of Bengal, even as far east as the distant kingdom of Kāmarūpa, or Assam, and seems to have possessed full sovereign authority over western and central Bengal. After his death, the local Rājas no doubt asserted their independence; but, except for the strange story of Arjuna and Wang-Hiuen-tse, related in the thirteenth chapter, no particulars are known concerning the history of Bengal for nearly a century. Bengālī tradition traces the origin of many notable families to five Brahmans and five Kāyasths supposed to have been imported from Kanauj by a half-mythical king named Ādisūra in order to revive orthodox Hindu customs, which had fallen into disuse during the time when Buddhism was predominant. But no authentic record of this monarch has been discovered, and his real existence may be doubted. If

[1] Malcolm, *Central India*, i, 25; Kincaid, *Ind. Ant.*, xvii, pp. 350–2, with map of the bed of the lake.

[2] Malcolm, *Central India*, i, 26.

he ever existed he must have reigned in Bengal earlier than the Pālas, whose history will now be noticed.

cir. 730–40 A. D. Rise of the 'Pāla' dynasty.

Early in the eighth century (*cir.* 730–40 A. D.) a chieftain named Gopāla became ruler of Bengal. Towards the close of his life he extended his power westwards over Magadha or Bihār, and is said to have reigned forty-five years. He suffered defeat at the hands of Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king of Rājputāna.[1] He was a pious Buddhist, and was credited with the foundation of a great monastery at Udandapura, or Otantapuri, believed by Cunningham to be the town of Bihār, which seems to have been the capital of the later Pāla kings. Inasmuch as the word *pāla* was an element in the personal names of the founder of the family and his successors, the dynasty is commonly and conveniently designated as that of the 'Pāla kings of Bengal'.

Dharmapāla, *flor.* 800 A. D.

The second king, Dharmapāla, who is credited with a reign of sixty-four years, is known to have reigned for at least thirty-two years. The Tibetan historian Tāranāth expressly states that his rule extended from the Bay of Bengal to Delhi and Jālandhar in the north and to the valleys of the Vindhyan range in the south. This ascription of wide dominion is supported by the certain fact that Dharmapāla dethroned Indrayudha, or Indrarāja, king of Panchāla, whose capital was Kanauj, and installed in his stead Chakrāyudha, with the assent of the neighbouring northern powers, enumerated as the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, and Gandhāra kings. This event took place soon after 800 A. D., and prior to the thirty-second year of Dharmapāla's reign as recorded in two grants.[2] It is noticeable that the grant of four villages in the province of Paundravardhana was issued at the royal camp or court at Pātaliputra.[3] When Hiuen Tsang visited the ancient imperial city in the seventh century he found the buildings of Asoka in ruins, and the inhabitants limited to

[1] Rāshtrakūṭa grants (*Ind. Ant.*, xi, 136, 160; xii, 164; *Ep. Ind.*, vi, 240).

[2] Bhāgalpur copper-plate (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, 304; xx, 308); Khālimpur copper-plate (*Ep. Ind.*, iv, 252).

[3] The term *jay-askandhāvāra* does not necessarily mean a camp only (D. R. Bhandarkar).

about a thousand persons occupying a small walled town on the bank of the Ganges in the northern portion of the site.[1] Apparently the city had recovered to some extent when Dharmapāla held his court there about 810 A.D.

Devapāla, ninth century.

Devapāla, the third sovereign of the dynasty, is regarded by the oldest writers on Brahman genealogy in Bengal as having been the most powerful of the Pālas.[2] A grant dated in the thirty-third year of his reign was issued from the court at Mudgagiri, or Monghyr.[3] Like all the other kings of his house, he was zealous in the cause of Buddhism, and is reputed to have waged war with the unbelievers, destroying forty of their strongholds. He is also alleged to have subdued Orissa, and to have reigned for forty-eight years.[4]

Mahīpāla, *flor.* 1026 A.D., reigned *cir.* 978–1030 A.D.

The next king deserving of notice is Mahīpāla, the ninth of the dynasty, who is known to have been reigning in 1026 A.D., and is supposed to have ruled for fifty-two years.[5] His reign is marked by the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, which had been much weakened by the persecution of Langdarma a century earlier. Pundit Dharmapāla and other holy men from Magadha accepted an invitation to Tibet in 1013 A.D., and did much to restore the religion of Gautama to honour in that country. A subsequent mission dispatched in 1042, during the reign of Mahīpāla's successor, Nayapāla, and headed by Atīsa, from the Vikramasīla monastery in Magadha, continued the work and firmly re-established Tibetan Buddhism.[6]

Rāmapāla, ? twelfth century.

An old Sanskrit work from Bengal represents Rāmapāla, the fourteenth king, as the last of his dynasty, although the

[1] *Watters*, ii, 87, 88; *Beal*, ii, 82, 86.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxiii, part i (1894), p. 41.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 254.

[4] Schiefner, *Tāranāth*, pp. 208–14. Tāranāth adds that Devapāla subdued Varendra, i. e. the Mālda district, &c., which is hard to understand, for that province must have been under Pāla rule earlier.

[5] Sārnāth inscription of 1083 (V. E.) in *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 140. Cunningham mentions 'an inscription on a brass image dated in the forty-eighth year of his reign' (*Rep.*, xv, 153).

[6] Sarat Chandra Dās (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. l, part i, pp. 236, 237). Tāranāth says that the date of Mahīpāla's death coincided approximately with that of the Tibetan king, Khri-ral, whom I cannot trace in the lists (*Schiefner*, p. 225). For the chronology, see *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxix, part i (1900), p. 192.

inscriptions carry it on for several generations longer.[1] Rāmapāla, who apparently reigned for about forty years in the latter part of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century, is recorded to have conquered Mithilā, or the land of Janaka, the modern Champāran and Darbhanga districts, and to have slain its king Bhīma. Buddhism flourished vigorously during this reign owing to the efforts of the great scholar Abhayakara, the monasteries of Magadha being crowded with thousands of residents.[2] Rāmapāla's dominions must have included Assam, the government of which was conferred by his son Kumārapāla on a minister named Vaidyadeva, who was invested with kingly powers.[3]

Latest Pāla kings. King Govindapāla is known to have been on the throne in 1175 A. D.;[4] and, according to tradition, the ruler of Magadha at the time of the Muhammadan conquest, in 1193 A.D., was Indradyumna[-pāla]. Forts attributed to him are still pointed out in the Mungīr (Monghyr) district.[5]

cir. 1060 A. D. The 'Sena' dynasty. At about the time of Mahīpāla's death, or a little later, a Rāja, named Vijayasena, founded a rival dynasty in Bengal, commonly called that of the 'Sena kings,' which wrested the eastern provinces for a time from the hands of the Pāla dynasty, the power of which was then much circumscribed. Gāngēyadeva of Chedi, as has been already mentioned, is supposed to have been recognized as the sovereign of Tirhūt in 1019 A. D. But his supremacy did not last long, and an independent local dynasty of northern Tirhūt was established at Simraon early in the fourteenth century.

1193 A. D. Muhammadan conquest of Bihār. In Bihār and Bengal both 'Pālas' and 'Senas' were swept away by the torrent of Muhammadan invasion at the end of the twelfth century, when Kutb-ud-dīn's general, Muhammad, the son of Bakhtiyār, stormed Bihār in (A.H. 589) 1193 A.D.,

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxiii, part i (1894), p. 46. Tāranāth says that the dynasty ended with Yakshapāla, the son of Rāmapāla, a year after the death of the latter (*Schiefner*, p. 251). In the Kamauli plate inscription the son of Rāmapāla is named Kumārapāla (*Ep. Ind.*, ii, 355).

[2] *Schiefner*, p. 250; Sarat Chandra Dās (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. li, part i (1882), p. 16).

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, ii, 355.

[4] Cunningham, *Rep.*, iii, 125; *Ind. Ant.*, xix, 358.

[5] Buchanan, *Eastern India*, ii, 23; Cunningham, *Rep.*, iii, 135, 159, 162.

and surprised Nūdīah (*vulgo* Nuddea) in the following year. The Musalman general, who had already made his name a terror by repeated plundering expeditions in Bihār, seized the capital by a daring stroke. The almost contemporary historian met one of the survivors of the attacking party in 1243 A.D., and learned from him that the fort of Bihār was seized by a party of only two hundred horsemen, who boldly rushed the postern gate and gained possession of the place. Great quantities of plunder were obtained, and the slaughter of the 'shaven-headed Brahmans', that is to say, the Buddhist monks, was so thoroughly completed, that when the victor sought for some one capable of explaining the contents of the books in the libraries of the monasteries, not a living man could be found who was able to read them. 'It was discovered,' we are told, 'that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindī tongue they call a college Bihār.'[1]

Destruction of Buddhism.

This crushing blow, followed up, of course, by similar acts of violence, destroyed the vitality of Buddhism in its ancient home. No doubt, a few devout, though disheartened, adherents of the system lingered round the desecrated shrines for a few years longer; and even to this day traces of the religion once so proudly dominant may be discerned in the practices of obscure sects; but Buddhism as a popular religion in Bihār, its last abode in Upper India south of the Himalaya, was destroyed once and for all by the sword of a single Musalman adventurer.[2] Many monks who escaped death fled to Tibet, Nepāl, and Southern India.

1194 A.D. Overthrow of the 'Sena' dynasty.

The overthrow of the 'Sena' dynasty was accomplished with equal, or even greater ease. The ruler of eastern Bengal in those days was an aged king, called Rāi Lakhmaniya by the Muhammadan writer, and reputed to have occupied the throne for eighty years. The portents which had attended his birth had been justified by the monarch's exceptional

[1] Raverty, transl. *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 552.

[2] See papers by H. P. Çāstrī, 'Buddhism in Bengal since the Muhammadan Conquest'; and '*Çrīdharma maṅgala*; a distant echo of the *Lalitavistara*' (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxiv, part i, 1895, pp. 55-68).

personal qualities. His family, we are told, was respected by all the Rāis or chiefs of Hindustan, and he was considered to hold the rank of hereditary Khalīf (Caliph), or spiritual head of the country. Trustworthy persons affirmed that no one, great or small, ever suffered injustice at his hands, and his generosity was proverbial.

Nūdīah, the capital.

This much respected sovereign held his court at Nūdīah, situated in the upper delta of the Ganges, on the Bhāgīrathī river, about sixty miles north of the site of Calcutta. The town still gives its name to a British district, and is renowned as the seat of a Hindu college organized after the ancient manner.

Capture Nūdīah, 1194 A.D.

Early in 1194 A.D. (590 A.H.), the year after his facile conquest of Bihār, Muhammad the son of Bakhtiyār, equipped an army for the subjugation of Bengal. Riding in advance, he suddenly appeared before Nūdīah with a slender following of eighteen horsemen, and boldly entered the city, the people supposing him to be a horsedealer. But when he reached the gate of the Rāi's palace, he drew his sword and attacked the unsuspecting household. The Rāi, who was at his dinner, was completely taken by surprise,

'and fled barefooted by the rear of the palace; and his whole treasure, and all his wives, maidservants, attendants, and women fell into the hands of the invader. Numerous elephants were taken, and such booty was obtained by the Muhammadans as is beyond all compute. When his (Muhammad's) army arrived, the whole city was brought under subjection, and he fixed his head quarters there.'

Lakhnautī, the Muhammadan capital.

Rāi Lakhmaniya fled to Bikrampur in the Dacca district,[1] where he died; and the conqueror presently destroyed the city of Nūdīah, and established the seat of his government at Lakhnautī, or Gaur. Mosques, colleges, and Muhammadan monasteries were endowed by him and his officers in all parts of the kingdom, and a great portion of the spoil was judiciously sent to his distant chief, Kutb-ud-dīn.

[1] Raverty, transl. *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāsirī*, p. 557; Elliot, *Hist. of India*, ii, 309. There is some uncertainty as to the place of the Sena king's retreat.

Dishonoured end of the Hindu kingdoms.

Such was the dishonoured end of the last Hindu kingdoms of Bengal and Bihār, which would have made a better fight for life if they had deserved to exist.[1] The administration of the aged Lakhmaniya must have been hopelessly inefficient to permit a foreign army to march unobserved across Bengal, and to allow of the surprise of the palace by an insignificant party of eighteen horsemen.

Era of Lakshmaṇa-sena.

Notwithstanding the manifest rottenness of their system of government, the 'Sena' kings were sufficiently conceited to establish a special era of their own, which they called by the name of Lakshmana-sena. The first current year, according to this computation, corresponded with 1119–20 A.D. (513 H.); and the epoch apparently was the date of the coronation of Lakshmana-sena, who must have been identical with the aged Rāi Lakhmaniya of the Muhammadan historians. It is recorded that the latter came to the throne in 510 A.H., equivalent to 1116–17 A.D., just eighty lunar years previous to the easy victory of the Muslim invader, and the era was invented presumably to mark the date of Lakshmana-sena's coronation in October, 1119 A.D.[2]

[1] As a petty local dynasty in the extreme east of Bengal the 'Senas' lasted for four generations longer, in subordination to the Muhammadan rulers of the province. The four principal Sena kings, according to the inscriptions, were Vijayasena, Ballālasena, Lakshmanasena, and Viśvarūpasena (Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind.*, viii, App., p. 18). Ballālasena is well remembered as the founder of the system of 'Kulinism' among the Brahmans, and the ruins of his palace are still shown at Bikrampur in the Dacca district (*J. A. S. B.*, vol. xlvii, part i (1878), p. 401).

[2] For the history of the 'Pāla' and 'Sena' kings, which is very imperfectly known, see Schiefner's *Tāranāth*; Cunningham, *Reports*. vols. iii, xi, xv; Blochmann in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. xliv, part i, p. 275; and Raverty's reply, ibid., vol. xlv, p. 325. Major Raverty had the better of the controversy, and has been followed in the text. Dr. Hoernle's article, 'The Pālas of Bengal,' in *Ind. Ant.*, xiv, 162, is also of value, although the chronology is erroneous. See also Beveridge, *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lvii, part i (1888), p. 5; ibid., vol, lxix, part i, pp. 61, 66, 190. The true date of the Lakshmaṇa-sena era has been fixed by Prof. Kielhorn, who gives a list of inscriptions dated in that era in *Ep Ind.*, vol. v, appendix, Nos. 576–8. For the Sena dynasty, the papers of Nagendranātha Vasu in *J. A. S B.*, vol. lxv (1896), part i, pp. 6–38, give much information, discussed from an independent point of view. That author relies on the date 1169 A.D. (1091 Śaka) for Ballāla sena, the predecessor of Lakshmana sena, as given in the *Dānasāgara*, a work attributed to Ballāla sena. I reject that date, and agree with Mr. Beveridge in preferring the authority of Minhāj-i-Sirāj, the almost contemporary

IX

The Rājpūt Clans

Ethnological speculations, or discussions about facial angles, thick or thin noses, long skulls or broad skulls, the mystery of the origin of caste, and so forth, are foreign to the purpose of this work, and cannot be even lightly handled in these pages.[1] But the narrative sections of this chapter dealing with the political fortunes of many Rājpūt clans can hardly fail to suggest to the thoughtful reader inquiries which seem to demand with urgency some sort of answer. Who were these Rājpūts—Parihārs, Pawārs, Chandēls, and the rest—and why do they and their affairs make such a confused stir during the centuries intervening between the death of Harsha and the Muhammadan conquest? The dominance of the Rājpūt clans is at first sight the conspicuous fact differentiating the mediaeval from the ancient period in the history of Northern India, and the mind craves for an explanation. It is proverbially easier to ask questions than to answer them, and in this case the facts are far too complex and imperfectly known to admit of concise satisfactory explanations. Still it may be worth while to make a few observations on the subject, designed to help the weary reader in his endeavour to find some sort of clue to guide him through the maze of dynasties.

Apparent dominance of the clans

The apparently sudden introduction of Rājpūt states on the stage during the eighth and ninth centuries is in part an illusion. Hardly anything is known about the caste or tribal position of the ancient ruling families. Nobody can tell exactly the rank of Hindu society to which the family of Asoka or Samudragupta belonged, and nothing is on

Kshatriyas.

author of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*.

The Pāla and Sena dynasties need to be discussed in a critical monograph.

Readers who desire to study the subject of the mediaeval dynasties more in detail will find dynastic lists and copious references in Miss Duff's most useful book, *The Chronology of India* (Constable, 1899). The minor dynasties have not been noticed in the text.

[1] See Risley and Gait, *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i; Rose, *Census Report for the Panjāb*, 1901; and the other *Census Reports*.

record to indicate how far the kings whose names appear prominently on the scene were merely successful personal adventurers or how far they were the heads of dominant clans. In later times all Rājpūts have considered themselves to be Kshatriyas—members of the second of the four castes according to the familiar Brahman theory.[1] So far back as the time when the *Dialogues of the Buddha* were composed the Kshatriyas were recognized as an important element in society, and in their own estimation stood higher than the Brahmans.[2] The fact probably is that from very remote days ruling clans of Kshatriyas, essentially similar to the Rājpūts of later days, existed and were continually forming new states, just in the same way as in the mediaeval period. But their records have perished, and only a few exceptionally conspicuous dynasties are at all remembered, and so stand out on the page of history in a manner that does not fully represent the truth. The term Kshatriya was, I believe, always one of very vague meaning, simply denoting the Hindu ruling classes which did not claim Brahman descent. Occasionally a Rāja might be a Brahman by caste, but the Brahman's natural place at court was that of minister rather than that of king.[3] Chandragupta Maurya presumably was considered to be a Kshatriya—his minister Chānakya certainly was a Brahman.

Break in tradition. The real difference between the ancient and mediaeval periods is that the living tradition concerning the former has been broken, while that concerning the latter survives. The Mauryas and Guptas belong to a dead and buried past, remembered only through books, inscriptions, and coins, while the clans whose ruling families came into notice during the mediaeval period are still very much alive, and in many cases form numerous and influential sections of the existing population.

[1] Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, Sūdras. The Brahman caste appears to be as much mixed in blood as the Rājpūts. The Vaiśyas are a very indefinite group, and Sūdras, as such, are hardly recognized in Northern India.

[2] Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. 59, 119; *J. R. A. S.*, 1894, p. 342.

[3] Hiuen Tsang mentions several Brahman Rājas, e. g. of Ujjain, Jijhoti, and Maheśvarapura, *Beal*, ii, 270, 271.

The 'Scythian' element.

Tod and the other older writers perceived long ago that the Rājpūt clans are in large part of foreign, or, as they called it, 'Scythian' descent. The more exact researches of recent times have fully confirmed this opinion, and it is now possible to indicate with a considerable degree of precision the source of the foreign blood in several of the principal clans, and at the same time to recognize the closeness of their relationship with castes which occupy a social position lower than that of the Rājpūts.

The Śakas and Yueh-chi.

The earliest foreign immigration within the limits of the historical period which can be verified is that of the Sakas in the second century B.C. (*ante*, p. 198); and the next is that of the Yueh-chi or Kushāns in the first century A.D. (*ante*, p. 237). Probably none of the existing Rājpūt clans can carry back their genuine pedigrees so far. I have no doubt that the ruling families of both the Sakas and the Kushāns when they became Hinduized were admitted to rank as Kshatriyas in the Hindu caste system, but the fact can be inferred only from the analogy of what is ascertained to have happened in later ages—it cannot be proved.

The Hūnas.

The third recorded great irruption of foreign barbarians occurred during the fifth century and the early part of the sixth. There are indications that the immigration from Central Asia continued during the third century (*ante*, p. 255), but, if it did, no distinct record of the event has been preserved, and, so far as positive knowledge goes, only three certain irruptions of foreigners on a large scale through the northern and north-western passes can be proved to have taken place within the historical period anterior to the Muhammadan invasions of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The first and second, as above observed, were those of the Sakas and Yueh-chi respectively, and the third was that of the Hūnas, or White Huns. These names, Saka, Yueh-chi, and Hūna, merely indicate the predominant elements in the invading swarms, which included many various races. The tradition of descent from the first and second swarms has been lost for ages. The Turkī Shāhiya kings of Kābul, who were displaced by the Hindu Shāhiyas in the ninth century,

boasted their descent from the great Kushān king, Kanishka (*ante*, p. 345), but I do not know of any later claim on the part of an Indian ruling family to relationship with the Yueh-chi.

Effects of Hūna invasions.

The break in tradition seems to be due in large measure to the far-reaching effects of the third barbarian irruption, to which the name of Hūna is given. The meagre literary record of the Hun invasion is supplemented by so many miscellaneous observations in the domains of ethnology, archaeology, and numismatics, that a strong impression is produced on the mind of the student that the Hun invasions disturbed Hindu institutions and polity much more deeply than would be supposed from perusal of the *Purānas*, and other literary works. The Hindu writers display great unwillingness to dwell upon 'barbarian' invasions. They never allude to the existence of Alexander the Great, and the Gujarāt historians similarly ignore the sack of Somnāth by Mahmūd of Ghaznī.[1] If Muhammadan authors had not related in detail the story of that famous raid, no record of it would have been found in Indian literature or inscriptions. There is, therefore, no reason for surprise that the Hindu record of the Hun deluge is meagre, and that recognition of its importance has had to be won laboriously by the patient researches of modern archaeologists. It is impossible to set forth the complicated evidence in this place, and the reader must be asked to accept the assertion that the series of invasions by the Huns and associated foreign tribes in the fifth and sixth centuries shook Indian society in Northern India to its foundations, severed the chain of tradition, and brought about a rearrangement of both castes and ruling families. The effects of the Hun cataclysm are obscured partially by the brilliant achievement of Harsha in establishing for thirty-six years a strong paramount power able to control the conflicting interests of the various races, clans, and creeds subject to his temporary sway.[2] When his heavy hand was removed all those elements broke loose, and,

[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. i, part i (1896), p 164, note 5.

[2] Harsha's reign began in 606, but his paramount power dates from 612 A. D. and continued until his death in 648.

after a period of unrecorded anarchy, produced in the domain of politics the new grouping of states described in its leading features in this chapter.

The Gurjaras.

It seems to be clearly established that the Hun group of tribes or hordes made their principal permanent settlements in the Panjāb and Rājputāna. The most important element in the group, after the Huns themselves, was that of the Gurjaras, whose name still survives in the spoken form Gūjar as the designation of a widely diffused middle-class caste in North-Western India. The Gūjars are primarily a pastoral people, but, of course, like almost all Indian castes, largely engaged in agriculture. The Jāts or Jats are recognized universally to be akin to the Gūjars, although it is impossible to define the relationship. Neither Jats or Gūjars are accounted to rank as Rājpūts or Kshatriyas, but most of the Panjāb Jats claim Rājpūt descent.[1]

Gurjara kingdoms.

The prominent position occupied by Gurjara kingdoms in early mediaeval times is a recent discovery. The existence of a small Gurjara principality at Bharōch (Broach), and of a larger state in Rājputāna, has been known to archaeologists for many years, but the recognition of the fact that Bhoja, and the other kings of the powerful Kanauj dynasty in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries were Gurjaras is of very recent date and is not yet general. Certain misreadings of epigraphic dates obscured the true history of that dynasty, and the correct readings have been established only within the last two or three years. It is now definitely proved that Bhoja (*cir.* 840-90 A.D.), his predecessors and successors, belonged to the Pratihāra (Parihār) clan of the Gurjara tribe or caste, and, consequently, that the well known clan of Parihār Rājpūts is a branch of the Gurjara or Gūjar stock.[2]

[1] *Jāt* in United Provinces, *Jat* in Panjāb. *Panjāb Census Rep.*, 1901, pp. 324, 326.

[2] The discovery is the work of Messrs. A. M. T. Jackson (*Bom. Gaz.*, vol. i, part i (1896), esp. p. 467); D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Gurjaras' (*J. Bo. Br. R. A. S.*, vol. xx); and 'Epigraphic Notes' (ibid., vol. xxi); Prof. Kielhorn, 'Epigraphic Notes,' No. 17, 'The Gwālior Inscription of Mihira Bhoja' (*Nachr. d. k. Gesellschaft d. Wissensch.*, Göttingen, 1905). This important inscription has been edited also by Hīrānanda in the *Archaeol. S. India, Annual*

The 'fire-born' clans.

A familiar legend appearing in the *Chand Rāisā* and other documents in variant forms groups together four Rājpūt clans—the Pawār (Pramāra), Parihār (Pratihāra), Chauhān (Chāhumāna), and Solankī or Chaulukya—as being *Agnikula*, or 'fire-born,' originating from a sacrificial fire-pit at Mount Ābū in Southern Rājputāna. The myth seems to express the historical truths that the four clans named are related, and all arose in southern Rājputāna.

The Parihārs.

The fact that one of them, the Parihār clan, undoubtedly is of the Gūjar stock, raises a strong presumption that the others are also descended from Gurjaras or similar foreign immigrants. In this way the origin of some of the most notable of the Rājput clans is accounted for. The Gurjaras are believed to have entered India either along with or soon after the White Huns, and to have settled in large numbers in Rājputāna; but there is nothing to show what part of Asia they came from, or to what race they belonged. The Pawār head quarters were at Chandrāvatī and Achalgarh, near Mount Ābū, and in the seventh century the Parihārs ruled a large part of Rājputāna from Bhīnmāl, about fifty miles to the north-west of Mount Ābū. About 800 A.D. Nāgabhata, king of the Gurjara country, conquered Kanauj, to which city he shifted his capital, and so founded the long line of Kanauj kings who ruled there until the capital was taken by Mahmūd of Ghaznī, at the close of 1018 A.D. (*ante*, p. 354). The discovery that the Rājas of Kanauj from 800 to 1018, some of whom enjoyed the rank of paramount sovereigns of Northern India, really were the descendants of 'barbarian' foreign immigrants into Rājputāna in the fifth or sixth century and first cousins of the Gūjars, although recognized as high-class Rājpūts, is one of the most notable additions made to Indian historical knowledge for many years past. Although the history of the other Rājpūt clans of the north has not been worked out with equal fullness, a fair presump-

Rep., 1903-4, p. 277. Dr. Hoernle has laid stress on the discovery in his small *History of India*, and in articles in *J. R. A. S.*, 1903-5.

tion arises that many of them were of similar origin. The truth seems to be that when a foreign clan or tribe became Hinduized the ruling families were recognized as Kshatriyas or Rājpūts, while the rank and file gradually lost their tribal organization, and developed into an Indian caste not regarded as aristocratic.

Indigenous origin of the southern clans

Some of the principal clans farther south spring from a different source, and apparently are descended from the so-called aboriginal tribes, Gonds, Bhars, Kols, and the like, whom Sir Herbert Risley calls by the singularly inappropriate generic name of 'Dravidians', one of the most misleading terms ever introduced.[1] The evidence of a close connexion between the Chandēls and the Gonds, who, again, were associated with the Bhars, is particularly strong; and the inference is fully justified that the Chandēl Rājpūts were originally Hinduized Bhars or Gonds, or both, who attained recognition as Kshatriyas or Rājpūts, when they acquired power and took up the business of kingship for which the Kshatriya caste was appropriated. The Gaharwārs similarly are associated with the Bhars; the Bundēlas and the northern Rāthōrs are offshoots of the Gaharwārs, and so on. The name of the great Rāshtrakūta clan of the Deccan, the political history of which will be treated in the next chapter, is etymologically identical with Rāthōr, but there is not, I think, evidence of any racial connexion between the Rāshtrakūtas and the Rāthōrs. The former seem to have originated among some one or other of the indigenous tribes of the Deccan in much the same way as the Chandēls became differentiated from the Gonds of the territory which is now the Chhatarpur State.[2]

[1] Dravidian is the English form of the adjective *Drāvida*, with the meaning 'belonging to Dravida, or the Tamil country.' It is applied with propriety to the territory, people, or language of the extreme south, but is wholly inapplicable to the Gonds, Kols, Bhars, and other so-called 'non-Aryan' tribes of Central India and the North.

[2] For the origin of the Chandēls, see my paper in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. xlvi, part i (1877), p. 233. A monograph on the Chandēl dynasty is in the press for the *Ind. Ant.* For Gaharwārs, see Beames and Elliot, *Races of the N.W. Provinces*, and for all northern castes Mr. Crooke's work

Struggle between northern and southern clans.

The unceasing wars of the mediaeval period become a little more intelligible and interesting when they are regarded as being in large part a secular struggle between the foreign Rājpūts of the north and the indigenous Rājpūts of the south. Of course, this arrangement of the sides did not always hold good, and powers normally at feud sometimes made friends and contracted alliances one with the other, or all parties momentarily combined against the Muhammadans. But I think it is true that, as a general rule, the Rājpūts formed by the social promotion of 'aborigines' were inimical to the Rājpūts descended from 'barbarian' immigrants. In the northern group the clans most conspicuous in the historical field are the Chauhāns, Parihārs, Tomaras, and Pawārs; in the southern group the principal clans are the Chandēls, Kalachuris, or Haihayas, Gaharwārs, and Rāshtrakūtas. The case of the Solankīs (Chaulukya, Chalukya, &c.), is doubtful. There is some reason to think that they ought not to be grouped with the 'fire-born' Rājpūts, and also some reason for so classing them.[1]

Summary.

The main points to remember are that the Kshatriya or Rājpūt caste is essentially an occupational caste, composed of all clans following the Hindu ritual who actually undertook the work of government; that, consequently, people of most diverse races were and are lumped together as Rājpūts; and that most of the great clans now in existence are descended either from foreign immigrants of the fifth or sixth century A.D. or from indigenous races such as the Gonds and Bhars. This finding will, I fear, be displeasing to many families of Indian gentry, who naturally prefer to believe in orthodox Brahman-made pedigrees going back to the sun, moon, or fire-pit; but I am convinced that it is substantially true, although the evidence is of a kind difficult to grasp, and incapable of brief presentation. The references in the

in four volumes, *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. P.* For speculations about the Rāshtrakūtas, see *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. i, part i (1896), pp. 119–34; ibid., part ii, pp. 178, 384.

[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, vol. i, part i (1896), p. 465, &c. *Contra*, Ojha, *Early History of the Solankīs* (in Hindī), pp. 12–14.

notes will enable the curious reader to pursue the subject further.[1]

[1] Mr. James Kennedy has contributed a brilliant essay on this period to the second volume of the *Indian Empire* in the new edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer*. But some of his statements of dates and other matters of fact require correction, and his theoretical views are open to criticism. Mr. Kennedy is mistaken in saying (p 320) that 'there was certainly no Gurjara (Gūjar) empire in Northern India in the eighth and ninth [leg "ninth and tenth"] centuries A D.' The extensive dominion of Mihira Bhoja and his son between 840 and 910 A. D. may be called an 'empire' quite legitimately, if anybody cares to use the term. The bibliography at the end of Mr. Kennedy's paper is useful I hope to publish elsewhere a detailed account of the Gurjara kingdoms of Rājputāna and Kanauj, with full criticism of the numerous inscriptions and other authorities.

CHAPTER XV

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

The Deccan.

THE term Deccan, a convenient and familiar corruption of the Sanskrit word meaning the South, may be, and sometimes is, extended so as to cover the whole of India south of the Narmadā; but is usually understood as designating a more limited territory, in which Malabar and the Tamil countries of the extreme south are not included. Thus limited, the term connotes the whole region occupied by the Telugu-speaking populations, as well as Mahārāshtra, or the Marāthā country. With reference to modern political divisions, the greater part of the Deccan in this restricted sense is occupied by the territories of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Physically, the country is for the most part a hot, hilly tableland, watered by two great rivers, the Godāvarī and the Krishnā (Kistna), the latter of which receives on the south an important affluent, the Tungabhadrā.

230 to 550 A.D. Blank in history.

In this region the dominant power for four centuries and a half, up to about 230 A.D., was the Āndhra, the history of which has been discussed in Chapter VIII of this work. For some three centuries after the extinction of the Āndhra dynasty, 'we have,' as remarked by Professor Bhandarkar, 'no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country'; but there is reason to believe that the western territory, or Mahārāshtra, was governed by princes belonging to the Rāshtrakūta, or Ratta, clan; which long afterwards, in the middle of the eighth century, became for a time the leading power of the Deccan.

Rise of the Chalukyas.

Practically the political history of the Deccan begins in the middle of the sixth century with the rise of the Chalukya dynasty. The Chalukyas claimed to be a race of Rājpūts from the north, who imposed their rule upon the Dravidian

inhabitants of the Deccan tableland, which had already been largely influenced by the Aryan ideas of the northerners before the appearance of the Chalukyas on the scene.[1] The statements in the later Chalukya inscriptions, which profess to trace back the clan to its origin in Ajodhya, and provide the royal family with an orthodox mythological pedigree, are of no historical value. There is some reason for believing that the Chalukyas or Solankīs were connected with the Chāpas, and so with the foreign Gurjara tribe of which the Chāpas were a branch, and it seems to be probable that they emigrated from Rājputāna to the Deccan.

550 A.D. Pulakēśin I.

The dynasty was founded by a chieftain named Pulakēsin I, who made himself master of the town of Vātāpi, the modern Bādāmi in the Bijāpur District, about 550 A.D., and established a principality of modest dimensions. He aimed, however, at more extended power, and is said to have asserted his claim to a paramount position by celebrating an *aśvamedha*, or horse-sacrifice.

Kīrtivarman and Mangalēśa.

His sons, Kīrtivarman and Mangalēsa, extended the possessions of the family both eastward and westward. The clans more or less completely subjugated by the former include the Mauryas of the Konkan—the strip of coast between the Western Ghāts and the sea—who claimed descent from the ancient imperial Maurya dynasty.

608 A.D. Pulakēśin II.

The succession to Mangalēsa was disputed between his son and one of the sons of Kīrtivarman. The latter, having overcome his rival, ascended the throne of Vātāpi as Pula-

[1] Except as otherwise stated, this chapter is based upon the second editions of Dr. Fleet's 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts' and Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's 'Early History of the Dekkan,' in *Bombay Gazetteer* (1896), vol. i, part ii. Full references to original documents will be found in both works. Prof. Kielhorn's 'Supplement to the List of Inscriptions of Southern India' (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. viii, App. ii) gives the most trustworthy dynastic lists and the latest results of epigraphic studies, up to Jan., 1906. The names of Pulakēśin and many other persons mentioned have numerous variants or equivalents. The spelling Pulakēśin is now generally approved. The name occurs in a Chāpa genealogy, which is the only instance known to Dr. Fleet of its occurrence outside the Chalukya family. This fact supports Mr. Jackson's view that the Solankīs or Chalukyas were connected with the Gurjaras, of whom the Chāpas were a branch. (*Bomb. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part i, pp. 127 note 2, 138, 463 note 2, 467).

kēsin II in 608 A.D., and was formally crowned in the following year. For the space of twenty years or more this able prince devoted himself to a career of aggression directed against all the neighbouring states. On the west and north, the kings of Lāta, or Southern Gujarāt; Gurjara, or Northern Gujarāt and Rājputāna; Mālwā, and the Mauryas of the Konkan felt the weight of Pulakēsin's arm.

609 A.D. Conquest of Vengī.

In the east he made himself master of Vengī, between the Krishnā and Godāvarī, and established his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana there as viceroy in 609 A.D. A few years later, about 615 A.D., this prince set up as an independent sovereign, and founded the line of the Eastern Chalukyas, which lasted until 1070 A.D., when it was absorbed into the Chola dynasty.

Southern wars

All the southern kingdoms, the Chola, Pāndya, and Kerala, as well as the Pallava, were forced into conflict with the ambitious king of Vātāpi, who undoubtedly was the most powerful monarch to the south of the Narmadā in 630 A.D.

620 A.D. Repulse of Harsha.

About ten years before that date he had successfully repelled the attack on his dominions led in person by Harsha, the lord paramount of the north, who aspired to the sovereignty of all India; but was foiled by the watchfulness and military skill of Pulakēsin, by whom the line of the Narmadā as the frontier between the southern and northern empires was successfully maintained.[1]

625 A.D. Intercourse with Persia.

The fame of the king of Deccan spread beyond the limits of India, and reached the ears of Khusrū II, king of Persia, who, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, 625-6 A.D., received a complimentary embassy from Pulakēsin.[2] The courtesy was reciprocated by a return embassy sent from Persia, which was received with due honour at the Indian court. A large fresco painting in Cave No. 1 at Ajantā, although unhappily mutilated, is still easily recognizable

[1] *Ante*, p. 313.

[2] The authority is the Muhammadan historian Tabari, as translated and quoted in Mr. Fergusson's paper in *J. R. A. S.*, and Burgess's 'Notes on the Bauddha Rock Temples of Ajaṇṭā' (*Arch. S. W.I.*, No. 9, Bombay, 1879), pp. 90-2. For the frescoes, see Plate IV of that work, and Plates II, III, IV in *J. A. S. B.*, part i, vol. lxvii (1878); or the India Office atlas of the Ajaṇṭā paintings.

as a vivid representation of the ceremonial attending the presentation of their credentials by the Persian envoys.

Ajantā school of painting.

This picture, in addition to its interest as a contemporary record of unusual political relations between India and Persia, is of the highest value as a landmark in the history of art. It not only fixes the date of some of the most important paintings at Ajantā, and so establishes a standard by which the date of others can be judged; but also proves, or goes a long way towards proving, that the Ajantā school of pictorial art was derived directly from Persia, and ultimately from Greece.

641 A.D. Visit of Hiuen Tsang.

The wonderful caves in the Ajantā valley were duly admired by Hiuen Tsang, who visited the court of Pulakēsin II in the year 641 A.D. The king's head quarters at that time were not at Vātāpi, but at another city, which has been identified for good reasons with Nāsik. The pilgrim was profoundly impressed by the military power of Pulakēsin, who was obeyed by his numerous subjects with 'perfect submission'.

642 A.D. Defeat of Pulakēsin by the Pallavas.

But his prosperity was not destined to last much longer. In 642 A.D., the long-continued war, which, since the year 609 A.D., had been generally disastrous to the Pallavas of Kānchī, took a new turn, and brought ruin and death upon Pulakēsin. The Pallava king, Narasimhavarman, took and plundered his capital, and presumably put him to death; and for thirteen years the Chalukya power, which Pulakēsin had laboured so hard to exalt, was in abeyance; while the Pallavas dominated Southern India.

655 A.D. Vikramāditya I.

In 655 A.D., Vikramāditya I, a son of Pulakēsin, restored the fallen fortunes of his family, inflicting a severe defeat upon the Pallavas, whose strongly fortified capital, Kānchī, was captured. The struggle with the southern power long continued, and victory inclined now to one side, and now to the other. During this reign a branch of the Chalukya dynasty succeeded in establishing itself in Gujarāt, where in the next century it offered vigorous opposition to the Arabs.

The main feature of the succeeding reigns was the never-

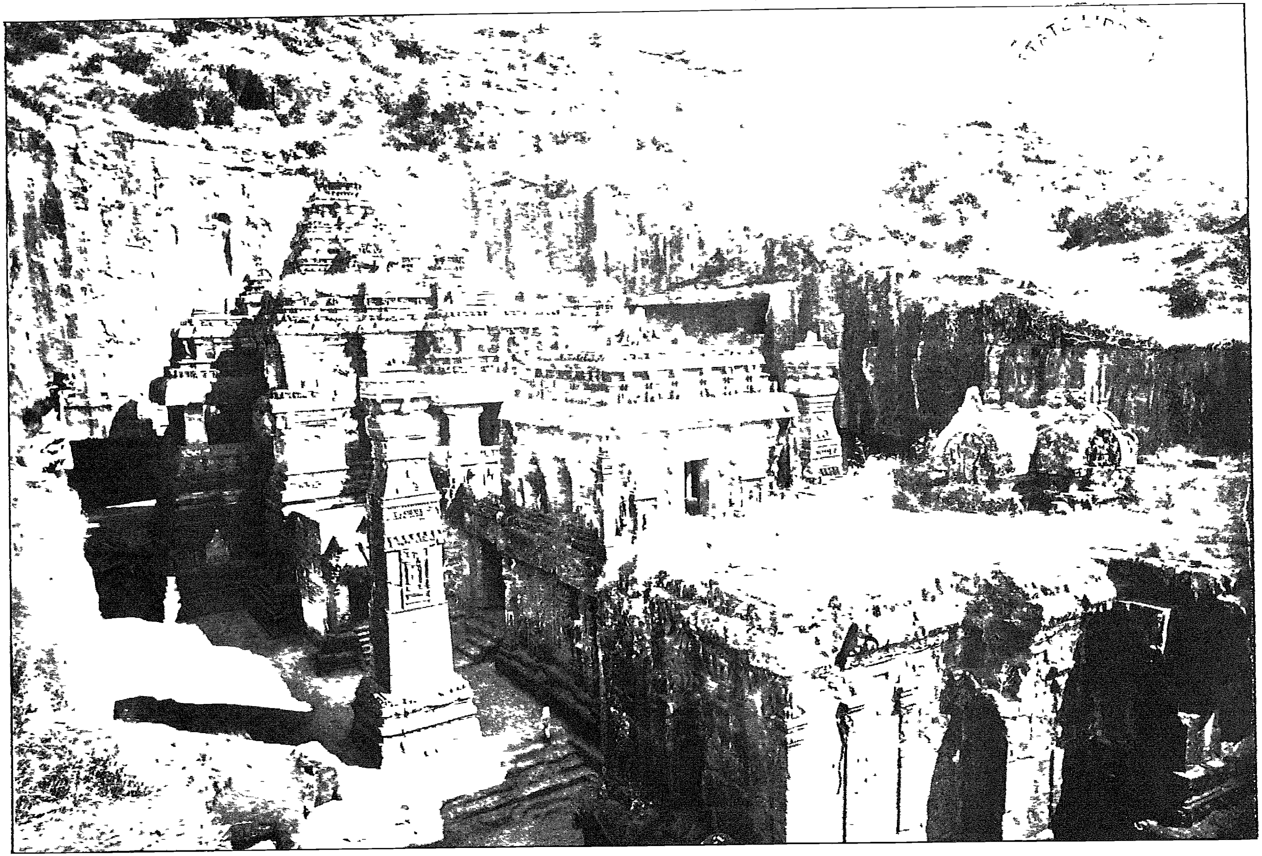
740 A.D. Vikramāditya II. ending conflict with the Pallavas, whose capital was again taken by Vikramāditya II, about 740 A.D.

753 A.D. Rāshtrakūṭa conquest. In the middle of the eighth century, Dantidurga, a chieftain of the ancient, and apparently indigenous, Rāshtrakūta clan, fought his way to the front, and overthrew Kīrtivarman II Chalukya, the son and successor of Vikramāditya II. The main branch of the Chalukyas now became extinct, and the sovereignty of the Deccan passed to the Rāshtrakūtas, in whose hands it remained for nearly two centuries and a quarter.

550-750 A.D. State of religion. During the two centuries of the rule of the early Chalukya dynasty of Vātāpi, great changes in the religious state of the country were in progress. Buddhism, although still influential, and supported by a large section of the population, was slowly declining, and suffering gradual supersession by its rivals, Jainism and Brahmanical Hinduism. The sacrificial form of the Hindu religion received special attention, and was made the subject of a multitude of formal treatises. The Purānic forms of Hinduism also grew in popularity; and everywhere elaborate temples dedicated to Vishnu, Siva, or other members of the Purānic pantheon, were erected; which, even in their ruins, form magnificent memorials of the kings of this period. The orthodox Hindus borrowed from their Buddhist and Jain rivals the practice of excavating cave-temples; and one of the earliest Hindu works of this class is that made at Bādāmi in honour of Vishnu by Mangalēsa Chalukya, at the close of the sixth century. Jainism was specially popular in the Southern Marāthā country.

cir. 760 A.D. Krishṇa I. Dantidurga Rāshtrakūta, after his occupation of Vātāpi, effected other conquests; but, becoming unpopular, was deposed by his uncle, Krishna I, who completed the establishment of Rāshtrakūta supremacy over the dominions formerly held by the Chalukyas. A branch of his family founded a principality in Gujarāt.

Kailāsa temple. The reign of Krishna I is memorable for the execution of the most marvellous architectural freak in India, the Kailāsa temple at Elūra (Ellora), now in the Nizam's dominions



THE ROCK-CUT KAILĀSA TEMPLE AT ELŪRA
(from the south-west)

(N. lat. 20° 2′, E. long. 75° 14′), which is by far the most extensive and sumptuous of the rock-cut shrines. It has been fully described and illustrated by many writers, among whom Dr. Burgess and Mr. Fergusson possess most authority.[1]

Krishna I was succeeded by his son Govinda II, who, after a reign of nine or ten years, was followed, and apparently superseded, by his brother Dhruva, an able and warlike prince, who continued with success the aggressive wars so dear to the heart of an Indian Rāja. He prided himself especially on his defeat of Vatsarāja, the Gurjara king of Bhīnmāl, whom he despoiled of two white umbrellas taken by Vatsarāja from the king of Gauda, or Bengal. *cir.* 780 A.D. Dhruva.

Govinda III, son of Dhruva, may justly claim to be the most remarkable prince of his vigorous dynasty. He extended his power from the Vindhya mountains and Mālwā on the north to Kānchī on the south; while his direct rule was carried at least as far as the Tungabhadrā. He created his brother Indrarāja viceroy of Lāta, or Southern Gujarāt. *cir.* 790–815 A.D. Govinda III.

The long reign of the next king, Amōghavarsha, who occupied the throne for at least sixty-two years, was largely spent in constant wars with the Eastern Chalukya Rājas of Vengī. He transferred his capital from Nāsik to Mānyakheta, the Mānkīr of the Arab writers, now Mālkhed in the Nizam's dominions (N. lat. 17° 10′, E. long. 77° 13′).[2] In his old age he abdicated in favour of his son, Krishna II, and devoted the brief remainder of his life to ascetic practices. The Digambara, or naked, sect of the Jains was liberally patronised by Amōghavarsha. The rapid progress made by Digambara Jainism late in the ninth and early in the tenth century, under the guidance of various notable leaders, including Jinasena and Gunabhadra, who enjoyed the favour of more than one monarch, had much to do with the marked decay of Buddhism; which daily lost ground, until it finally disappeared from the Deccan in the twelfth century. 815–77 A.D. Amōghavarsha; Jain progress.

[1] *Cave Temples* and *Arch. S.W.I.*, vol. v. The correct early form of the name is either Vellūra or Elāpura.

[2] Deoli plates (*Ep. Ind.*, v, 193, l. 18). Dr. Fleet erroneously ascribes the foundation of Mānyakheta to Govinda III.

Indra III, 914–16 A.D.

The brief reign of Indra III (914–16 A.D.) is signalized by his successful attack upon distant Kanauj, and the consequent temporary dethronement of Mahīpāla, king of Panchāla, the most considerable prince in northern India. This war probably deprived Mahīpāla of Surāshtra and the other western provinces which were still under his control at the time of the accession of Indra III.[1]

949 A.D. Chola king killed.

The war with the Cholas in the reign of Krishna III, Rāshtrakūta, was remarkable for the death of Rājāditya, the Chola king, on the field of battle in 949 A.D. Much bitterness was introduced into the wars of this period by the hostility between the rival religions, Jainism and orthodox Hinduism.

973 A.D. Restoration of the Chalukyas.

The last of the Rāshtrakūta kings was Kakka II, overthrown in 973 A.D. by Taila, or Tailapa II, a scion of the old Chalukya stock, who restored the family of his ancestors to its former glory, and founded the dynasty known as that of the Chalukyas of Kalyāni; which lasted, like that which it superseded, for nearly two centuries and a quarter.

Pre-eminence of the Rashtrakūtas.

The conquest of Sind by Muhammad, son of Kāsim, early in the eighth century, firmly established the political predominance of Islam in that province, which was separated from India proper by the 'lost river', the Hakrā or Wahindah. The Gurjara kingdom of Bhīnmāl to the east of that river was united with that of Kanauj from the beginning of the ninth century, and maintained relations of chronic hostility with its Muslim neighbours on the west of the great stream. But the Rāshtrakūta princes found their interest to lie in the pursuit of a different policy, and kept up friendly intercourse with the Arabs, while continually engaged in war with the Gurjaras. In consequence of this policy many Muhammadan merchants and travellers visited the western region of India, of whom some, beginning with the merchant Sulaiman in the middle of the ninth century, have left a record of their observations. All these writers agree in stating that they regarded the Balharā as the greatest sovereign in India. They called the Rāshtrakūta kings 'Balharā' because those

[1] Cambay plates (*Ep. Ind.*, vii, 36; *List*, No. 91).

princes were in the habit of assuming the title Vallabha ('Beloved,' *Bien aimé*), which, in combination with the word Rāi (prince), was easily corrupted into the form of Balharā. The meaning of this title, by which Sir H. Elliot and many European authors have been puzzled, was first cleared up by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar.[1] The tribute of honour paid to the Rāshtrakūta kings by their Muhammadan visitors was justified by the achievements of their period. Although the art displayed at Ellora may not be of the highest kind, the Kailāsa temple is one of the wonders of the world, a work of which any nation might be proud, and an honour to the king under whose patronage it was executed. Many other temples were the outcome of the royal munificence, and Sanskrit literature of the artificial type then in fashion was liberally encouraged.

Taila, the restorer of the Chalukya name, reigned for twenty-four years, and during that time succeeded in recovering all the ancient territory of his race, with the exception of the Gujarāt province. Much of his time was spent in fighting Munja, the Pawār (Paramāra) Rāja of Dhārā, who claimed the victory in sixteen conflicts. But towards the close of his reign Taila enjoyed the luxury of revenge. His enemy, having crossed the Godāvarī, which then formed the boundary between the two kingdoms, was defeated, taken captive, and for a time treated with the courtesy due to his rank. But an attempt to escape was visited with cruel indignities, the captive Rāja being forced to beg from door to door, and ultimately beheaded. These events may be dated in 995 A. D.[2] 995 A.D. Execution of Munja.

Two years later Taila died, and transmitted the crown to his son Satyāsraya, during whose reign the Chalukya kingdom suffered severely from invasion by the Chola king, Rājarāja the Great, who overran the country with a vast host, said to number nine hundred thousand men, pillaging and *cir.* 1000 A. D. Invasion by Rājarāja Choḷa.

[1] The epithet or title *vallabha*, used either singly or in composition with a noun like *śrī* or *prithivī*, was borrowed by the Rāshtrakūtas from the preceding dynasty, the Chalukyas of Vātāpi. Muhammadan authors usually describe a Hindu king as *Rāi* (*Bomb. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part ii, p. 209).

[2] *Ante*, p. 365.

slaughtering in so merciless a fashion that even the women, children, and Brahmans were not spared.

1052 A.D. Death of Rājādhirāja Choḷa.

In 1052 A.D., Somesvara I, who was called Āhavamalla, fought a battle at Koppam, on the Tungabhadrā, in which Rājādhirāja, the then reigning Chola king, lost his life.[1] Somesvara also claims the honour of having stormed both Dhārā in Mālwā and Kānchī in the south, and of having defeated Karna, the valiant king of Chedi.

1068 A.D. Suicide of Someśvara Chalukya.

In 1068 A.D., Somesvara, being seized by an incurable fever, put an end to his sufferings by drowning himself in the Tungabhadrā river, while reciting his faith in Siva. Suicide in such circumstances is authorized by Hindu custom, and more than one instance is on record of Rājas having terminated their existence in a similar manner.

1076 to 1126 A.D. Reign of Vikramānka.

Vikramāditya VI, or Vikramānka, the hero of Bilhana's historical poem, who deposed his brother Somesvara II, and came to the throne in 1076 A.D., reigned for half a century in tolerable, though not unbroken, peace. He is recorded to have captured Kānchī, and late in his reign was engaged in a serious struggle with Vishnu, the Hoysala king of Dōrasamudra in Mysore. Vikramānka considered his achievements sufficiently notable to justify him in establishing a new era, running from 1076 A.D., called after his name, but it never came into general use. His capital Kalyāna, the modern Kalyāni in the Nizam's dominions, which had been founded by Somesvara I, was the residence of the celebrated jurist Vijnānēsvara, author of the *Mitāksharā*, the chief authority on Hindu law outside of Bengal.

1156 A.D. Usurpation of Bijjala.

After the death of Vikramānka, the Chalukya power declined; and in the course of the years 1156-62 A.D., during the reign of Taila III, the commander-in-chief, Bijjala, or Vijjana, Kalachurya, revolted and obtained possession of the kingdom, which was held by him and his sons until 1183 A.D., when the Chalukya prince, Somesvara IV,

[1] Dr. Fleet, apparently in error, dates the battle of Koppam 'shortly before the 20th January, 1060' (*Kanerese Dyn.*, p. 441). The date 1052 is determined by Prof. Kielhorn. Koppam on the Tungabhadrā, not the village of the same name on the Pālār, seems to be the site of the battle.

as proving the capacity of an Oriental despot without a conscience for unlimited and ruthless extortion.[1]

During his reign, the last of the Turkī Shahiya kings, the descendants of Kanishka, was overthrown by the Brahman, Lalliya. These Turkī Shahiyā kings had ruled in Kābul until the capture of that city by the Arab general, Yakūb-i-Lāis in 870 A.D. (256 A.H.).[2] After that date the capital was shifted to Ohind, on the Indus. The dynasty founded by Lalliya, known as that of the Hindu Shāhiyas, lasted until 1021 A. D., when it was extirpated by the Muhammadans.[3] End of the Shāhiya dynasty

During the reign of the child-king Pārtha and his father Pangu the regent, an awful famine occurred in the year 917–8 A.D., thus described by the Brahman historian of a Hindu government:— Famine in 917–8 A. D.

'One could scarcely see the water in the Vitastā (Jihlam), entirely covered as the river was with corpses soaked and swollen by the water in which they had long been lying. The land became densely covered with bones in all directions, until it was like one great burial ground, causing terror to all beings. The king's ministers and the Tantrins (Praetorian guards) became wealthy, as they amassed riches by selling stores of rice at high prices. The king would take that person as minister who raised the sums due on the Tantrins' bills, by selling the subjects in such a condition. As one might look from his hot bath-room upon all the people outside distressed by the wind and rain of a downpour in the forest, thus for a long time the wretched Pangu, keeping in his palace, praised his own comfort while he saw the people in misery.'[4]

This gruesome picture may give cause for reflection to some critics of modern methods of famine relief.

Pārtha chastised his people with whips, but his son Unmattāvanti, 'who was worse than wicked,' chastised them with scorpions. 'With difficulty,' sighs the chronicler, 'I get my song to proceed, since from fear of touching the evil Unmattāvanti, 937–9 A. D.

[1] Stein, *transl Rājatar.*, bk. v, vv. 128–227.

[2] Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 63, 64

[3] Stein, *Zur Geschichte der Çahis von Kābul* (Stuttgart, 1893).

[4] Stein, *transl. Rājat.*, bk v, vv. 271–7.

The Hoysala dynasty of Dōrasamudra.

power in the Mysore country. The first notable prince of this line was Vishnu, or Bittiga (1117 A.D.), who established his capital at Dōrasamudra, the modern Halebīd, famous for the fine temple which excited Mr. Fergusson's enthusiastic admiration. During Vishnu's reign the Jain religion enjoyed high favour under the protection of his minister Gangarāja, and the Jain temples, which had been destroyed by the orthodox Chola invaders, were restored; but the king himself was converted to Vishnuism, and the magnificent buildings at Belūr and Halebīd testify to the zeal and good taste which he devoted to the serving of his new religion.[1] Vishnu boasts in his records of numerous conquests, and claims to have defeated the Rājas of the Chola, Pāndya, and Chera kingdoms in the south. About the year 1223 A.D., one of his successors, Narasimha II, who was then in alliance with the Cholas, actually occupied Trichinopoly.[2]

1191 A.D. Vīra-Ballāla.

Vīra-Ballāla extended his dominions widely to the north of Mysore, and was so proud of having defeated the Yādavas of Devagiri, whose kingdom lay to the north, in 1191-2 A.D., that he founded an era called Virōdhikrit to commemorate the event.[3]

1310 A.D. End of Hoysala dynasty.

The dynasty lasted until 1310 A.D., when the Muhammadan generals, Malik Kāfur and Khwāja Hājī entered the Hoysala kingdom, laid it waste, captured the reigning Rāja, and despoiled his capital, which was finally destroyed by a Muslim force in 1327 A.D.

Yādava dynasty of Devagiri.

The Yādava kings of Devagiri who have been mentioned were descendants of feudatory nobles of the Chalukya kingdom. The territory which they acquired, lying between Devagiri (Daulatābād) and Nāsik, was known as Sevana. The first of the Yādava line to attain a position of importance was Bhillama, who was killed in battle by the Hoysala chief in 1191 A.D.

[1] Fergusson and Meadows Taylor, *Architecture in Dharwār and Mysore*, atlas folio (Murray, 1866). For much detailed information about Vishnu's reign and buildings, see Mr. Rice's Introduction to *Ep. Carn.*, vol. v, p. i, especially p. xxxvi. Mr. S. K. Aiyangar has given a good account of the Hoysalas in his lecture 'The Making of Mysore' (Madras, 1905).

[2] *Ep. Ind.* vii, 162.

[3] Fleet, *Kan. Dyn.*, p. 504.

The most powerful Rāja was Singhana (*acc.* 1210 A.D.), who invaded Gujarāt and other countries, and established a short-lived kingdom almost rivalling in extent the realms of the Chalukyas and Rāshtrakūtas. 1210 A.D. Rāja Singhana.

The Yādava dynasty, like that of the Hoysalas, was destroyed by the Muhammadans. When Alā-ud-dīn, Sultan of Delhi, crossed the Narmadā, the northern frontier of the Yādava kingdom, in 1294, the reigning Rāja, Rāmachandra, was obliged to surrender, and to ransom his life by payment of an enormous amount of treasure, which is said to have included six hundred *maunds* of pearls, two *maunds* of diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and sapphires, and so forth. 1294 A.D. Attack by Sultan Alā-ud-dīn.

When the Sultan's incursion was repeated by Malik Kāfūr in 1309 A.D., Rāmachandra again refrained from opposition, and submitted to the invader. He was the last independent Hindu sovereign of the Deccan. In wide territories to the south of the Krishnā (Kistna), the kingdom of Vijayanagar, founded about 1336 A.D., maintained the traditions of Hindu polity in unsurpassed splendour until 1565, when it was overwhelmed by a coalition of Muhammadan princes. 1309 A.D. Malik Kāfūr,

After Rāmachandra's death, his son-in-law, Harapāla, stirred up a revolt against the foreigners in 1318, but, being defeated, was flayed alive and decapitated. Thus miserably ended the Yādava line. 1318 A.D. End of Yādava dynasty.

The celebrated Sanskrit writer, Hemādri, popularly known as Hemādpant, flourished during the reigns of Rāmachandra and his predecessor, Mahādeva. He devoted himself chiefly to the systematic redaction of Hindu religious practices and observances, and with this object compiled important works upon Hindu sacred law. He is alleged, although erroneously, to have introduced a form of current script, the Modī, from Ceylon;[1] and has given a valuable historical sketch of his patrons' dynasty in the introduction to one of his books. Hemādri, or Hemāḍpant.

[1] The Modī script really was invented or introduced by Bālājī Avajī, Secretary of State to Śivājī, the celebrated Marāthā chieftain, who died in 1680 (B. A. Gupte, *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 27. Mr. Grierson gives the alphabet in *Linguistic Survey*, vol. vii, p. 20).

APPENDIX M

THE PRINCIPAL DYNASTIES OF THE DECCAN [1]

I. The Chalukya Kings of Vātāpi (Bādāmi), 550–753 A.D.

Serial No.	*Name.*	*Approximate date of Acc.* A.D.	*Known epigraphic dates.*
I	Pulakēśin I (Satyāśraya, Raṇavikrama, Vallabha)	550	Nil. (The title or epithet *vallabha* is used sometimes alone, sometimes in composition with *Śrī*, &c.)
II	Kīrtivarman I (Vallabha, Raṇaparākrama, &c.)	566-7	578
III	Mangalēśa (Vallabha, Raṇavikrānta, &c.)	597-8	601-2
IV	Pulakēśin II (Vallabha, Satyāśraya, &c.)	608 [Interruption from 642 to 655]	612, 634; crowned 609
V	Vikramāditya I (Vallabha, Satyāśraya, &c.)	655	659
VI	Vinayāditya (Satyāśraya, Vallabha, &c.)	680	689, 691, 692, 694.
VII	Vijayāditya (Satyāśraya, &c.)	696	699, 700, 705, 709.
VIII	Vikramāditya II (Anivārita, &c.)	733	735 (?)
IX	Kīrtivarman II (Nṛipasiṁharāja, &c.)	746	754, 757. (In 753 the Rāshṭrakūṭa conquest occurred, and Kīrtivarman sank to the level of a local Rāja)

[1] Only the main lines are given; collateral and local branches are omitted. The lists begin with the real founder of each dynasty; the genealogies give earlier names. The lists now given are abstracted from those published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, viii, app. ii (1906).

II. *The Rāshṭrakūṭa Kings of Mānyakheṭa (Mālkheḍ)*, 753–973 A.D.

Serial No.	*Name.*	*Approximate date of Acc.* A.D.	*Known epigraphic dates.*
I	Dantidurga (Khadgāvaloka, &c.)	753	753
II	Kṛishna I (Akālavarsha, &c.)	760	Nil
III	Govinda II (Prabhūtavarsha, &c.)	770	770, 779
IV	Dhruva (Nirupama, Śrīvallabha, borrowed from the Chalukyas, &c.)	780	783 (Jain *Harivamsa*)
V	Govinda III (Prabhūtavarsha, &c.)	793	794, 804, 808, 813.
VI	Amōghavarsha I (Nṛipatuṇga, &c.)	815	817–77
VII	Krishṇa II (Krishnavallabha, &c.)	880	902–11
VIII	Indra III (Nityavarsha, &c.)	912	914, 916
IX	Amōghavarsha II	916–7	Nil
X	Govinda IV (Suvarṇavarsha, &c.)	917	918–33
XI	Amōghavarsha III (Baddiga, &c.)	935	Nil
XII	Krishṇa III (Kannara, &c.)	940	940–61
XIII	Khoṭṭiga (Nityavarsha, &c.)	965	971
XIV	Kakka II (Kakkala, &c.)	972	972, 973. (Restoration of Chalukyas by Taila in 973)

III. *The Chalukya Kings of Kalyāṇi (Kalyāṇa)*, 973–1190 A.D.

Serial No.	*Name.*	*Approximate date of Acc.* A.D.	*Known epigraphic dates.*
I	Taila II (Tailapa, Āhavamalla, &c.)	973	993-97
II	Satyāśraya (Sattiga, &c.)	997	1002, 1008
III	Vikramāditya V (Tribhuvanamalla)	1009	1009
IV	Jayasiṁha II (Jagadekamalla I)	1016	1018 (?)–1040
V	Someśvara I (Āhavamalla, &c.)	1042	1044–68
VI	Someśvara II (Bhuvanaikamalla)	1075	1071–5
VII	Vikramāditya VI (Vikramārka, &c.)	1075–6	1077–1125
VIII	Someśvara III (Bhūlokamalla)	1125–6	1128, 1130
IX	Perma-Jagadekamalla II	1138	1139, 1149
X	Taila III (Tailapa, Trailokyamalla, &c.)	1149	1154, 1155
XI	Someśvara IV (Tribhuvanamalla, &c.)	1162	1184, 1189. (Usurpation of Bijjala Kalachurya in 1156-62; he abdicated in 1167, his descendants continuing until 1183 as rivals of Someśvara IV)

CHAPTER XVI

THE KINGDOMS OF THE SOUTH

SECTION I

The 'Three Kingdoms'

The Tamil country.

SOUTHERN India, as distinguished from the plateau of the Deccan, from which it is separated by the Krishnā (Kistna) and Tungabhadrā rivers, has a character of its own, and a history generally independent of that of the rest of India. This extensive region may be described in modern terms as consisting of the Madras Presidency, excluding the 'Northern Circars' Districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjām, and with the addition of the native states of Mysore, Cochin, and Travancore. It is essentially the land of the Tamil race and speech, and accordingly the greater portion of it was known in ancient times as Tamilakam, or the Tamil country. The earliest tradition fixed the northern boundary of Tamilakam on the east coast at Pulicat, a little above Madras, and on the west coast at the White Rock near Badagara, to the south of Mahé, the frontier line between those two points passing round by the hill of Venkata or Tirupathi, a hundred miles to the north-west of Madras, and then inclining southwards to Badagara.[1] Later traditions extended the north-eastern boundary as far as Nellore on the N. Pennār river,[2] and the north-western limit to the Chandragiri river south of Mangalore.[3]

Damirikē of Ptolemy.

The Greek geographer Ptolemy, who wrote his treatise about 140 A.D., was well acquainted with Southern India, which he called Damirikē, a good transliteration of Tamilakam, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, but unfortunately corrupted

[1] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 10, 17.

[2] Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 108.

[3] The Chandragiri is the boundary between Kerala and the Tuluva country.

in the manuscripts into the unmeaning form Limyrikē, owing to the frequent confusion between Λ and Δ.[1] In his time one language only, the Tamil, was spoken over the whole area; Malayālam, now the speech of Malabar, not having been developed as a separate tongue until some centuries later. The population comprised various elements, of which the Villavar, or bowmen (Bhīls), and Mīnavar, or fishermen (Mīnas), are supposed to have been the most ancient. The Tamils seem to be later immigrants.

Ancient state of society.

The early Tamil poetical literature, dating, according to competent expert opinion, from the first three centuries of the Christian era, gives a vivid picture of the state of society at that period. The Tamils had developed an advanced civilization of their own, wholly independent of Northern India. Immigrants from the North, who had settled at Madura and some other cities, sought to introduce Hindu notions of caste and ceremonial, but met with much opposition, and the caste system, which for many centuries past has been observed with special strictness in the South, was then inchoate and imperfect.[2] The prevailing religion was a form of 'demon-worship', which still survives under new names. For example, the most powerful demoness of the southern races, Kottavai, 'the Victorious,' has now taken her place in the Hindu pantheon as Umā or Durgā, the consort of Siva.[3]

Internecine warfare.

In addition to the three principal kingdoms, which will be described presently, about a hundred and twenty more or less independent chieftains shared the government of the country, and indulged in unceasing internecine wars, waged with exceptional ferocity by the agency of the aboriginal tribesmen, whose representatives, the Maravar, Kallar, and others, still form an important and turbulent element in the population. 'These desolating wars', Dr. Pope observes,

[1] Ptolemy, bk. vii, ch. 1, 85; transl. McCrindle, *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 367. The Peutingerian Tables correctly give the name as Damirikē (*Ind. Ant.*, viii, 144).

[2] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 3, 10, 39.

[3] Pope, 'Extracts from the Tamil *Purra-porul Venba-Mālai*, and the *Purru-nānnūrru* (*J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 242). Dr. Pope is not so decided in opinion concerning the early date of the literature as native scholars are.

'account for the multitudes of deserted strongholds whose ruins are yet to be seen, and for the comparative sparseness of the population at the period when authentic history begins.'

Religion.

The aboriginal 'devil worship', exposed to the persistent attacks of the three northern religions—Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism—was gradually forced into the background, and constrained to veil itself behind the names and forms of the more respectable faiths. Nobody seems to know when or how the Jain religion was introduced into Southern India. The late legends which seek to connect the phenomenon with the emperor Chandragupta Maurya in the fourth century B.C. do not bear criticism, and appear to be wholly the work of imagination (*ante*, p. 137 *n.*). But it is certain that Jainism gained a strong hold on the South from very early times, and retained it for many centuries. The effective importation of Buddhism undoubtedly was the work of Asoka's brother Mahendra and the other missionaries sent out by the great proselytizing emperor in the middle of the third century B.C. (*ante*, p. 174). The imperial religion does not seem to have become at any time the dominant creed of the South, although it attained a considerable amount of popularity during several centuries. In the seventh century A.D. it was dying out, overshadowed by both Jainism and Hinduism. After that date those two faiths alone disputed the field, often with great bitterness and ferocity. The early southern Buddhism ignored caste, but the mysterious and insidious power of the Brahmanical organization was too much for it, and won the day. The rules of caste now are enforced in the South with far greater rigour than in the North. It is not possible to follow the subject further in this place, but it is safe to affirm that there is room for a very interesting book on the history of the conflict of religions in the Tamil country.

No slavery; the five great assemblies.

Slavery is said to have been unknown among the ancient Tamils. The statement of Megasthenes that 'it was a great thing that all Indians were free, no slave existing in India' (*ante*, p. 98 *n.*), probably was based on a rash generalization made from information which was strictly true for parts of

the South.[1] His strange enumeration of the seven castes of (1) philosophers, (2) agriculturists, (3) herdsmen, shepherds, and graziers; (4) artisans and traders, (5) the military, (6) the overseers, and (7) the councillors (*ante*, p. 131 *n.*), looks like a distorted version of an account of the 'five great assemblies', which checked the autocracy of Tamil kings, and comprised the people, priests, astrologers, physicians, and ministers.[2]

The frequency and savagery of the internecine wars described in the old literature might seem to justify the opinion that the arts of peace and the amenities of civil life must have been wholly neglected in the ancient Tamil states. But such an inference would be erroneous, for there is no doubt that poetry and other refined arts were carried to a high degree of excellence, and that the dwellers in the cities, at all events, enjoyed all the luxuries which wealth could purchase. In this matter, too, an observation of Megasthenes helps us to understand the apparent contradiction between a state of incessant war and the existence of a rich trading and agricultural community of peaceful citizens. War and peace.

'The second caste,' the Greek ambassador noted, 'consists of the husbandmen, who form the bulk of the population, and are in disposition most mild and gentle. They are exempted from military service, and cultivate their lands undisturbed by fear. They never go to town, either to take part in its tumults, or for any other purpose. It therefore not unfrequently happens that at the same time, and in the same part of the country, men may be seen drawn up in array of battle, and fighting at the risk of their lives, while other men close at hand are ploughing and digging in perfect security, having these soldiers to protect them.'

This pretty picture may be a little overdrawn, but we may accept as true the statement that in the India known to Megasthenes the fighting ordinarily was done by professional soldiers, who interfered little with the work of the harmless

[1] The statement is not true if applied to Malabar or Kerala (Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, by Beauchamp, third ed., p. 56).

[2] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 108, 114.

and necessary peasant. The fortified towns, too, as a rule, were protected by their gates and walls from the injuries of war, and only on rare occasions suffered the horrors of a sack. Thus it was possible for the Tamils, like the mediaeval Florentines and Pisans, to have their fill of fighting and still pay a close attention to careful farming and lucrative trade.

Pepper, pearls, and beryls.

Tamil Land had the good fortune to possess three precious commodities not procurable elsewhere, namely, pepper, pearls, and beryls. Pepper fetched an enormous price in the markets of Europe, and was so highly prized that when Alaric the Goth levied his war indemnity from Rome, in 409 A.D., his terms included the delivery of 3,000 pounds of pepper.[1] The pearl fishery of the southern sea, which still is productive and valuable, had been worked for untold ages, and always attracted a crowd of foreign merchants. The mines of Padiyūr in the Coimbatore District (Πουννάτα ἐν ᾗ βήρυλλος of Ptolemy) were almost the only source known to the ancient world from which good beryls could be obtained, and few gems were more esteemed by both Indians and Romans.[2]

Maritime commerce; foreign settlements.

The Tamil states maintained powerful navies, and were visited freely by ships from both east and west, which brought merchants of various races eager to buy the pearls, pepper, beryls, and other choice commodities of India, and to pay for them with the gold, silver, and art ware of Europe. The Roman *aureus* circulated in Southern India as freely as the English sovereign now passes on the continent of Europe, and Roman bronze small change, partly imported and partly minted at Madura, was commonly used in the bazaars.[3] There is good reason to believe that considerable colonies of Roman subjects engaged in trade were settled in Southern India during the first two centuries of our era, and that European soldiers, described as 'powerful Yavanas, dumb

[1] Gibbon, ch. xxxi.

[2] Sewell, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 595, 598. A second beryl mine is said to have existed at Vāṇiyambāḍi in the adjoining Salem District. *Ptolemy*, bk. vii, ch. 1, 86 (*Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 337). Pliny observes that the beryl is closely related to the emerald, and was found in India, but rarely elsewhere. The Indians often made spurious specimens out of rock crystal. (*Hist. Nat.*, bk. xxxvii, ch. v).

[3] Sewell, 'Roman Coins found in India,' *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 591.

Mlechchhas [barbarians], clad in complete armour,' acted as bodyguards to Tamil kings, while 'the beautiful large ships of the Yavanas' lay off Muziris (Cranganore) to receive the cargoes of pepper paid for by Roman gold. It is even stated, and no doubt truly, that a temple dedicated to Augustus existed at Muziris. Another foreign (Yavana) colony was settled at Kāviripaddanam, or Pukār, a busy port situated on the eastern coast at the mouth of the northern branch of the Kāviri (Cauvery) river. Both town and harbour disappeared long since, and now lie buried under vast mounds of sand. The poems tell of the importation of Yavana wines, lamps, and vases, and their testimony is confirmed by the discovery in the Nīlgiri megalithic tombs of numerous bronze vessels similar to those known to have been produced in Europe during the early centuries of the Christian era,[1] and by the statements of the *Periplus*.

Early literature and art.

So far as I can judge, the scholars who maintain the early date of the best Tamil poems are right, and the 'Augustan age' of Tamil literature may be placed in the first three centuries of the Christian era. One authority would assign it to the first century, but the wider limits indicated may be accepted with some confidence.[2] Other arts besides poetry

[1] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 16, 25, 31, 36, 38. The 'Peutingerian Tables', a collection of ancient maps believed to date from about 226 A. D. (ed. Scheyb, 1733; Mannert, Leipzig, 1824; Charles Ruelens, Brussels, 1884; Walker, *On the Tabula Peutingeriana*, Cambridge, 1883, in *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications*, vol. v, p. 237), are the authority for the temple of Augustus at Muziris, which is indicated on the map by a rough sketch of a building marked 'templ. augusti' inserted beside 'Muziris'. The identification of Muziris with Cranganore is well established. Kāviripaddanam = Pukār; = Kākanthi (Kākandī of Bharhut inscription, No. 101, *Ind. Ant*, xxi, 235); = Kamara (*Periplus*, ch. 60, *Ind. Ant.*, viii, 149); = Khabēris (*Ptolemy*, bk. vii, ch. 1, 13, *Ind. Ant.*, vii, 40; xiii, 332). For the bronze vessels see the collection in the British Museum, and the labels on the specimens; *Ind. Ant.*, 1905, p. 229; Breeks, *An Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nīlagiris*, London, 1873; Foote, *Catal. Prehist. Antiq. Madras Museum*, 1901, pl. x-xiii. The *Periplus* (ch. 56, *Ind. Ant.*, viii, 147) states that 'ships which frequent these ports are of a large size, on account of the great amount and bulkiness of the pepper and betel of which their lading consists'. A full list of exports and imports is then given. The massacre at Alexandria, perpetrated in 215 by Caracalla, put an end to the direct trade between that port and India (*J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 954).

[2] Gover was of opinion that

were cultivated with success, including music, the drama, painting, and sculpture; but the statues and pictures were executed in perishable materials, and have wholly vanished. The plays are said to have been of two kinds—the Tamil or indigenous, in numerous varieties, which permitted the insertion of love scenes, and the Aryan or northern, which were more formal, and restricted to eleven stock subjects.

The 'Three Kingdoms'.

Such was the state of civilization in the three Dravidian or Tamil kingdoms of the south during the early centuries of the Christian era, when they are disclosed dimly to view in the pages of the ancient native literature and the scanty notices of Greek and Roman authors, as supplemented by a few archaeological and numismatic observations. With the exception of the Asoka edicts, the Bhattiprolu casket inscriptions, and a small number of other records, epigraphic testimony does not go back so far. General tradition recognized the existence of three important kingdoms, and only three, in the Tamil country—namely, the Pāndya, Chola, and Chera or Kerala. Asoka calls the last by the name of Keralaputra, 'son of Kerala,' which appears in corrupt forms in Pliny's work and the *Periplus*, and he adds a fourth name, Satiyaputra, not recorded elsewhere. A probable, but unproved, conjecture identifies this last kingdom with the Tuluva country on the western coast, to the north of Kerala or Malabar. Mangalore is the centre of the Tuluva country, in which Tulu, a language allied to Kanarese, is spoken.

Position of the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

The Pāndya kingdom, as defined by tradition, extended north and south from the Southern Vellāru river (Pudukottai) to Cape Comorin, and east and west from the Coromandel coast to the 'great highway', the Achchhankōvil Pass leading into Southern Kerala, or Travancore; and thus was nearly co-extensive with the existing Districts of Madura and Tinnevelly. At times it included the southern part of Travancore.

Tiruvalluva, the famous author of the *Kural* (*Cural*) 'probably flourished about the third century of our era' (*The Folk-songs of Southern India*, 1872, p. 217). Mr Gover penetrated into the Hindu mind perhaps more deeply than any other European writer, and any one desirous of understanding Southern India should read, if possible, his admirable book, which, unfortunately, is now scarce.

According to the most generally received traditions, the Chola country (*Cholamandalam*) was bounded on the north by the Pennār, and on the south by the Southern Vellāru river; or, in other words, it extended along the eastern, or Coromandel, coast from Nellore to Pudukottai, where it abutted on the Pāndya territory. On the west it extended to the borders of Coorg. The limits thus defined include Madras and several other British districts on the east, as well as the greater part of the Mysore State. But the ancient literature does not carry the Tamil Land further north than Pulicat and the Venkata or Tirupathi hill, a hundred miles to the north-west of Madras. On the other hand, in the seventh century, the Chola country, as known to Hiuen Tsang, was a small territory, nearly coincident with the Cuddapah District, and did not extend to the south. Position of the Chola kingdom.

Scholars are now agreed that Chera and Kerala are only variant forms of the one word. The name of Kerala is still well remembered, and there is no doubt that the ancient kingdom so called was equivalent to the Southern Konkans or Malabar coast, comprising the present Malabar District with Travancore and Cochin. The southern portion of Travancore, known as Ven or Venādu, was attached to the Pāndya kingdom in the first century A.D. In later times the Chera kingdom included the Kongu country, the modern Coimbatore District with the southern part of Salem, but it is doubtful whether or not such was the case in early days. Generally, Kerala means the rugged region of the Western Ghāts south of the Chandragiri river. Of course, the boundaries of the three kingdoms varied much from time to time. Position of the Chera or Kerala kingdom.

From about the fourth to the eighth century the Pallava dynasty plays a great part in the history of Southern India. But there was no Pallava country with traditional limits. The Pallava domination, while it lasted, extended in degrees varying from time to time over all the three ancient kingdoms, the extent of such domination being in proportion to the vigour of the Pallava chiefs and the weakness of their rivals. This fact seems to indicate that the Pallavas, like the Marathās, were a predatory clan, tribe, or caste, which rose to power by The Pallavas.

violence, and superimposed its authority upon the Rājas of the territorial kingdoms. The tradition of the Pallava rule is faint, and the existence of the Pallava dynasty was unknown to European scholars until 1840, when the discovery of a copper-plate inscription drew their attention to the subject.[1] Since then many similar discoveries have been effected, and much progress has been made in the reconstruction of the dynastic framework of Pallava history. The origin and affinities of the Pallavas remain obscure.

General view of southern history.

In the following sections of this chapter an attempt will be made to give an outline of the political history, so far as it is known, of the three Tamil kingdoms, the position and character of which have been described, and also of the intrusive dynasty of the Pallavas. But the time for writing in brief the history of the southern kingdoms in a satisfactory manner has not yet come, and at present any sketch such as that now offered must be tentative and incomplete. In its revised form it is less imperfect than the draft in the first edition of this work, and certain speculations which failed to bear the test of criticism have been withdrawn; but, until specialists intimately acquainted with the languages and local conditions shall have worked out detailed monographs for each dynasty, it will not be possible to compile an adequate early history of the southern kingdoms in a form suitable for inclusion in a volume dealing with India as a whole. Still, notwithstanding the inevitable defects incident to the attempt, it is worth while to make it. I do not know of the existence of any book which professes to give the student or general reader a view of the history of Southern India before the Muhammadan conquest, as it has been partially recovered by the patient labours of modern scholarship. I feel assured, therefore, that my effort to supply the want, however imperfectly executed, will not be wasted, and that expert critics who know the difficulties of the subject will be the most ready to pardon my shortcomings. *Tout connaître c'est tout pardonner.*

Difficulties.

Those difficulties are very great. The sources of southern

[1] Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 39.

history prior to the ninth century are far scantier than those available in the north. The *Purānas* ignore the south, early inscriptions are extremely rare, the coinage gives little help, the publication of archaeological investigations in a finished form is backward, and the exploration of the ancient literature is incomplete. On the other hand, from the ninth century onwards, the mass of epigraphic material is so enormous as to be unmanageable. The southern princes and peoples have bequeathed to posterity many thousands of inscriptions, which often attain portentous length. Eight volumes of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, which are concerned with both the Deccan and the Tamil kingdoms, give notices of 5,800 inscriptions. The staff of the Archaeological Survey in Madras during a single year copied more than 800 inscriptions, none of which, probably, are included in Mr. Rice's work; and every year makes a huge addition to the unwieldy accumulation of historical material. The length of individual inscriptions is illustrated by the fact that an important record recently brought to light is engraved on thirty-one sheets of copper, fastened together on a massive ring. It is obvious that the thorough examination of the epigraphic sources alone of the early history of Southern India must be the work of specialists for many years to come, and that additions to knowledge of the subject must continue to be made from day to day. With these preliminary explanations I proceed to give the best account that I can of the three Tamil kingdoms, and of the intrusive Pallava dynasty which for a time overshadowed them all.

SECTION II

The Pāndya, Chera, or Kerala, and Satiyaputra Kingdoms

The 'five Pāṇḍyas.'

Ordinarily, the Pāndya kingdom, approximately equivalent to the modern Madura and Tinnevelly Districts, was divided into five principalities, the chiefs of which were known as the 'five Pāndyas'. Details as to the jurisdiction of the several chiefs are not known.

Korkai, Κόλχοι.

As early as the time of Pliny, in the first century A.D., the capital was Madura or Kūdal;[1] but there is reason to believe that in still more ancient days Korkai was the chief place of the kingdom. All native traditions indicate Korkai or Kolkai, the Greek Κόλχοι, as the cradle of South Indian civilization, and the home of the mythical three brothers who were supposed to have founded the Pāndya, Chera, and Chola kingdoms. The city, now represented by an insignificant village on the bank of the Tāmrāparni river in Tinnevelly, was a great seaport in the days of its glory, and the head quarters of the pearl trade, which constituted the special source of wealth enjoyed by the Pāndya kings. Even when the royal court was established at Madura, the Crown Prince resided at Korkai in order to control the important revenue and commercial interests centred there. In the course of time the silting up of the delta rendered Korkai inaccessible to ships, and the city gradually decayed, like the Cinque Ports in England.

Kāyal.

Its commercial business was transferred to the new port, which was founded at Kāyal, three miles lower down the river, and continued for many centuries to be one of the greatest marts of the east. Here Marco Polo landed late in the thirteenth century, probably more than once, and was much impressed by the wealth and magnificence of both prince and people.[2] But the same process which had ruined Korkai caused

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, bk. vi, ch. 23 (26). He describes Becarē the harbour on the Malabar coast, the Bakarai of Ptolemy (bk. vii, ch. 1, 8), which is Vaikkarai, the landing-place for Kottayam, and adds that 'there Pandion used to reign, dwelling at a great distance from the mart, in a town in the interior of the country, called Modura'. At the time he was writing Caelobothras (Keralaputra) was sovereign of the Malabar coast. The *Periplus* (ch. 54, 55) shows clearly that while Muziris belonged to the kingdom of Keralaputra, Bakarē, farther south, was included in the Pāṇdya dominions; which, therefore, must have comprised the southern parts of the modern Travancore state. This tract was called Venāḍu or Ven. For identification of Becarē and many other places, see *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp 17–20. Pliny's work was published in 77 A.D., as is proved by the dedication to Titus, before his accession. The *Periplus* may be dated about 100 A.D., and Ptolemy about 140 A.D.

[2] Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, pp. 85 and 87. The first visit seems to have been made in 1288 and the second in 1293.

the abandonment of Kāyal, and compelled the Portuguese to remove their trade to Tuticorin, where a sheltered roadstead, free from deposits of silt, offered superior convenience. The site of Kāyal is now occupied by the miserable huts of a few Muhammadan and native Christian fishermen.[1]

It is impossible to name a date for the abandonment of Korkai as a port, but the coins of that mint are supposed to extend up to about 700 A.D. The special crest or cognizance of the princes of Korkai was the battle-axe, often associated with the elephant. The kings of Madura adopted a fish, or a pair of fishes, as the family crest.[2]

Early notices; Megasthenes.

The capital of the country, as already mentioned, was at Madura in Pliny's time, but the kingdom had existed from much earlier days. The Pāndyas were known to the Sanskrit grammarian Kātyāyana, whose date probably is not later than the fourth century B.C.;[3] and in the same century, Megasthenes, the ambassador of Seleukos Nikator at the court of Chandragupta Maurya, was told strange tales about the southern realm, which was supposed to be under the regimen of women. He was informed that 'Herakles begat a daughter in India whom he called Pandaia. To her he assigned that portion of India which lies to the southward and extends to the sea, while he distributed the people subject to her rule into 365 villages, giving orders that one village each day should bring to the treasury the royal tribute, so that the queen might always have the assistance of those men whose turn it was to pay the tribute in coercing those who for the time being were defaulters in their payments'. This female potentate was credited with having received from her hero father 500 elephants, 4,000 cavalry, and 130,000 infantry. She possessed a great treasure in the fishery for pearls, which, as Arrian observes, had been eagerly sought by the Greeks, and in his time were equally prized by the Romans.[4]

[1] Bishop Caldwell, *Ind. Ant.*, vi, 80–3, 279.

[2] Loventhal, *The Coins of Tinnevelly* (Madras, 1888), p. 9.

[3] Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, 2nd ed., in *Bomb. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part i, p. 139. I accept the view of Professors Goldstücker and Bhandarkar concerning the antiquity of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana as necessarily resulting from the ascertained date of Patañjali, 150 B.C.

[4] Megasthenes, Fragm. I, lvi B,

Relations with Rome.

We hear of a mission sent by 'King Pandion' to Augustus Caesar in 20 B.C.;[1] and both the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (*cir.* 100 A.D.) and Ptolemy the geographer (*cir.* 140 A.D.) were well informed concerning the names and positions of the marts and ports of the Pāndya country. Caracalla's massacre at Alexandria in 215 A.D. put an end to the direct Roman trade between Southern India and Egypt,[2] and for long ages the history of the Pāndya realm is hidden from our eyes.

Ancient kings.

The early Tamil literature gives us glimpses of the old Roman time from the Indian point of view, and mentions a Pāndya king named Nedunj-Cheliyan, supposed to be contemporary with Karikāla Chola and Athem I Chera. The *Kural*, the celebrated poem of Tiruvallava, is said to have been published at the court of Ugra-peru-valathi, a successor of Nedunj-Cheliyan. According to tradition, Madura in those days was the seat of a great college or school of poets.[3] Such scraps of positive information and vague tradition make up all that is known of the history of the Pāndya kings during the first two or three centuries of the Christian era. It is quite impossible to construct a 'connected relation' from the materials available.

Hiuen Tsang's account.

When Hiuen Tsang visited Southern India, in 640 A.D., he spent a considerable time, presumably including the 'rest' during the rainy season, at Kānchī (Conjeeveram), then the capital of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman, the most considerable potentate in the South at that period. The pilgrim did not personally visit the Pāndya country farther south, and was content to record notes from descriptions supplied by his Buddhist friends at Kānchī. He gives the name of Malakūta to the country, but fails to indicate the name or position

lviii, in Schwanbeck's text and McCrindle's translation; Arrian, *Indika*, ch. viii.

[1] *Strabo*, bk. xv, ch. 4, 73; Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, iv, 118, 175.

[2] *J. R. A. S.*, Oct., 1907, p. 954.

[3] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 80, 81, 88. Mr. Gover dated Tiruvallava in the third century A.D. (*Folk Songs of Southern India*, p. 217). 'There is no doubt of the fact that the Cural is as essentially the literary treasure, the poetic mouthpiece, the highest type of verbal and moral excellence among the Tamil people, as ever Homer was among the Greeks' (ibid., p. 200).

of the capital, and is silent on the subject of the mode of government. It is probable that the Pāndya Rāja at that time was a tributary of the powerful Pallava king of Kānchī. In Malakūta Buddhism was almost extinct, the ancient monasteries being mostly in ruins. Temples of the Hindu gods were numbered by hundreds, and the nude (Digambara) Jains were present in multitudes. The inhabitants were reputed to care little for learning, and to be wholly immersed in commercial pursuits, especially the pearl trade.[1]

Eighth to tenth centuries.

A recently discovered inscription furnishes a list of Pāndya kings who reigned from about the middle of the eighth to the beginning of the tenth century, but they are little more than names. Arikesarin, who lived in the eighth century, is said to have defeated the Pallavas, and there is reason to believe that the accession of Varagunavarman, who was defeated by the Ganga-Pallava, Aparājita, at the battle of Srī Purambiya, may be assigned to the definite date, 862–3 A. D.[2] During this period the Chola kingdom, ground between the Pallava and the Pāndya millstones, was weak and unimportant, and the business of resisting Pallava aggression seems to have devolved chiefly on the Pāndyas. The defeat of Nandivarman by Vikramāditya Chalukya, in 740 A. D., had greatly weakened the Pallava power, which was shattered finally by the victories of Āditya Chola at the close of the ninth century.[3] From the beginning of the tenth century the Pāndya kings were constrained to acknowledge the ever-growing power of the Cholas. Whether independent or tributary, the Pāndya dynasty continued to exist throughout the ages, and its conflicts with neighbouring powers are noticed in inscriptions from time to time, but few of the events recorded are deserving of remembrance.

Chola ascendancy.

The Pāndya state, in common with the other kingdoms of the South, undoubtedly was reduced to a condition of tribu-

[1] *Beal*, ii, 228–30; *Watters*, ii, 228–33. See remarks by Hultzsch, *Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 242.

[2] *Progress Report, Epigraphy*, 1906–7, in *Madras G. O.*, *Public*, No. 503, 27th June, 1907, pp. 62–70. This report by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya Avargal gives the latest summary of the few ascertained facts about the early Pāndya kings.

[3] *Progress Report, Epigraphy*, 1905-6, in *Madras G. O.*, *Public*, No. 492, July 2, 1906, paras. 10, 16.

tary dependence by the Chola king, Rājarāja the Great, about the year 994, and continued to be more or less under Chola control for nearly two centuries; although, of course, the local administration remained in the hands of the native Rājas, and the relations of the two states varied from time to time. Some revival of the Pāndya power took place in the first half of the thirteenth century. The Jain religion, which was popular in the days of Hiuen Tsang in the seventh century, and had continued to enjoy the favour of the Pāndya kings, was odious to their Chola overlords, who were strict adherents of Siva. A credible tradition affirms that, apparently at some time in the eleventh century, the Chola aversion to the religion of the naked saints was the cause of a terrible persecution. A Pāndya king named Sundara was married, it is said, to a Chola princess, sister of King Rājendra, and was converted from Jainism to the Saiva faith by his consort. King Sundara is alleged to have displayed even more than the proverbial zeal of a convert, and to have persecuted his late co-religionists, who refused to apostatize, with the most savage cruelty, inflicting on no less than eight thousand innocent persons a horrible death by impalement. Certain unpublished sculptures on the walls of a temple at Trivatūr in Arcot are believed to record these executions, and are appealed to as confirmation of the tradition.[1]

Persecution of Jains.

Wars with Ceylon.

Wars between the Pāndya kings and the rulers of Ceylon frequently occurred. The most notable incident in this protracted conflict was the invasion of the Pāndya territory, in or about 1175 A.D., by a powerful force under the command of two generals in the service of Parākrama-bāhu, the ambitious king of Ceylon. Two detailed accounts of this event, written from different points of view, are extant. The story, as told in the island chronicle, the *Mahāvaṁśa*, naturally represents the victorious career of the invaders as unbroken

Coins of Southern India, p. 126. The exact date of the persecution cannot be determined, because Sundara was a common name in the Pāndya royal family, and there was more than one Rājendra Choḷa. Another version of the story from the *Periyapurāṇam*, which calls the Pāṇḍya king Neḍumāṛan, will be found in *Ind. Ant.* xxii, 63. These southern Rājas usually had many names.

by defeat; but the rival account, preserved in a long Chola inscription at Arpakkam near Kānchī, which is the more trustworthy record, proves that the invading army, having gained considerable success at first, ultimately was obliged to retire in consequence of the vigorous resistance of a coalition of the southern princes. The occasion of the Sinhalese intervention was a disputed succession to the Pāndya throne of Madura, contested by claimants bearing the oft-recurring names of Vīra and Sundara.[1] This recurrence of names is one of the difficulties which hinder the reconstruction of the dynastic framework of Pāndya history.

The later Pāndyas.

Prof. Kielhorn has succeeded in working out the dates of seventeen Pāndya Rājas who ruled a territory more or less extensive during the long period between 1190 and 1567 A.D., but the list of names is believed to be incomplete, and most of the princes were merely local chiefs of slight importance.[2] The partial Muhammadan conquest effected by Malik Kāfūr in 1310 A.D. did not destroy the local dynasties, although it marks a change in political conditions which has been taken as the limit of this history.

Earliest references to the Chera or Kerala kingdom.

The earliest reference to the Kerala or Chera kingdom is that made in the edicts of Asoka under the name of Keralaputra, which was known in slightly corrupted forms to both Pliny and the author of the *Periplus* as still used in their time, the first two centuries A.D. The ancient Tamil literature, dating approximately from the same period, proves that the Chera kingdom comprised five *nāḍus* or districts, namely (1) Pooli, 'the sandy,' extending from Agalappula to the mouth of the Ponāni river, about 10° 50′ N. lat.; (2) Kudam, 'the western,' extending from the Ponāni to the southernmost mouth of the Periyar river near Ernakulam, about 10° N. lat.; (3) Kuddam, 'the land of lakes,' about Kottayam and Quilon; (4) Ven,[3] from below Quilon nearly to Cape Comorin;

[1] Full details will be found in the article appended to *Madras G. O.*, *Public*, Nos. 922, 923, dated Aug. 19, 1899, pp. 8–14.

[2] *Supplement to the List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, in *Ep. Ind.* viii, app. ii, p. 24.

[3] The *Periplus* and Pliny assign the southern province or district to the kingdom of Pāṇḍya. No doubt the Pāṇḍyas always did their best to secure control of some ports on

and (5) Karkā, 'the rocky,' the hill country to the east of No. 2. Pliny's Cottonara or Kottanara, the pepper coast, corresponds with No. 3.

Ports.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, two of the principal ports at which the trade in pepper and other rarities was carried on were Muziris, the modern Cranganore, at the mouth of the Periyar, and Bakarei, or Vaikkarai, the landing-place for Kottayam. With a favourable south-east monsoon, the voyage from Arabia to Muziris occupied forty days during July and August, and traders were able to return in December or January after transacting their business.

These notices, recorded by the Greek and Roman authors, concerning the extent and methods of commerce are no doubt extremely interesting, but they give little help towards the reconstruction of the political history of Kerala. In fact, next to nothing is known on that subject until Kerala was forced into contact with the aggressive Chola power in the tenth century, from which time the Chola inscriptions throw some side-lights on the history of the western kingdom.

The capital.

The earliest Chera capital is said to have been Vanji, Vanchi, or Karūr, now represented by the deserted village Tiru-Karūr, high up the Periyar, about 28 miles ENE. of Cochin. Tiru-vanji-kalam, near the mouth of the Periyar, was a later capital. Some writers have erroneously believed Karūr in Coimbatore to have been the Chera capital, but there is no doubt that that opinion is mistaken.[1]

The Kongu country.

In the earliest times of which we have any knowledge the Kongu country, comprising Coimbatore and the southern part of Salem, is believed to have been distinct from Kerala, whereas in later days both Kerala proper and the Kongu country seem to have been comprised in a single kingdom; and subsequently again the Kongu country alone was known as the Chera kingdom, while Kerala was separate. Apparently it is not possible at present to assign these changes to definite dates. Kerala itself has not always formed a single kingdom,

the western coast, and sometimes succeeded in securing it.

[1] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 15; *Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 259; xxxi, 343; *Ep. Ind.* iv, 294; *S. I. Inscr.*, vol. iii, part i, p. 30.

and it now comprises the British District of Malabar, as well as the native states of Cochin and Travancore.

Athem I and II.

Tamil literary tradition represents Athem I, king of Kerala, as contemporary with the Pāndya king, Nedunj-Cheliyan, and Karikāla, the first historical king of the Chola dynasty. Athem II, son and successor of Athem I, is said to have been the son-in-law of Karikāla. If this synchronism be correct, Athem I should be dated not later than 200 A.D.[1]

Travancore, or South Kerala.

A learned writer, the late Mr. P. Sundaram Pillai, who was a native of Travancore, rightly claimed that his country possessed claims to exceptional interest, and might be regarded as an epitome of India. It never was affected seriously by the Muhammadan conquest, and 'plays in Indian anthropology the part of a happy and undisturbed fossiliferous stratum'. To vary the metaphor, the state is a museum in which are preserved alive survivals of nearly all the ancient Indian peoples, religions, laws, customs, and manners. The old and new can be studied together within that limited area in a way which is not possible elsewhere. Unfortunately, the rich mine thus offered for research never has been thoroughly explored. The political history is known only from Mr. Sundaram Pillai's articles[2].

Rājas of Travancore.

He collected over a hundred inscriptions, mostly recorded in the ancient and complex Vatteluttu alphabet, by the aid of which he was able to trace back the royal family to 1125 A.D., and to compile a nearly complete list of the Rājas for two centuries from that date. His patriotic work was interrupted by death, and, so far as I am aware, has not been taken up by any successor. The records published by him show that at the beginning of the twelfth century Travancore, or Southern Kerala, formed part of the Chola empire of Rājendra Chola-Kulottunga, and to all appearance was well governed and administered. The details of the working of the ancient village associations or assemblies are especially

[1] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 88. The author places Athem I and his contemporaries in the first century A.D.

[2] 'Some Early Sovereigns of Travancore,' *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xxiv (1895), pp. 249, 277, 305, 333; ibid., vol. xxvi, p. 109; 'Miscellaneous Travancore Inscriptions,' ibid., vol. xxvi, pp. 113, 141.

interesting, and prove that the government was by no means a mere centralized autocracy. The village assemblies possessed considerable administrative and judicial powers, exercised under the supervision of the Crown officials.

Chera coins.

The crest or cognizance of the Chera kings was a bow. Their coins are very rare, and only two late types, characterized by the bow device, are known. They are found in the Kongu country of Salem and Coimbatore, and I do not know any record of the coinage of Kerala, the Malabar coast.[1]

Lack of material.

The above disjointed notes are all that I am in a position to offer as a contribution to the early history of the Chera or Kerala kingdom. The story of the Zamorins of Calicut falls outside of the limits of this work. Professor Kielhorn has compiled a list of the inscriptions of the later kings and chiefs of Kerala, being mostly those collected by Mr. Sundaram Pillai,[2] but has not attempted to draw up a dynastic list.

Satiyaputra kingdom.

The conjecture as to the position of the Satiyaputra kingdom referred to by Asoka has been recorded on a previous page (*ante*, p. 174), and there is nothing more to be said on the subject. The name occurs only in the edicts of Asoka.

SECTION III

The Chola Kingdom

Traditional limits of the Chola country.

According to tradition, the Chola country (*Cholamaṇḍalam*) was bounded on the north by the Pennār, and on the south by the southern Vellāru river; or, in other words, it extended along the eastern coast from Nellore to Pudukottai, where it abutted on the Pāndya territory. On the west it reached to the borders of Coorg. The limits thus defined include Madras, and several other British districts on the east, as well as the greater part of the Mysore state.[3] The

[1] *Ante*, plate of coins, fig. 17; Tufnell, *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India* (Madras, 1889), p. 17.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. vii, App. O, Nos. 939-66. The inscriptions generally are dated in the Kollam or Malabar era of 824-5 A. D.

[3] *Coins of Southern India*, p. 108. *Chola* is also written *Chora*, *Śola*, or *Śora*. Coromandel is a corruption of *Cholamaṇḍalam* (Yule & Burnell, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, *s.v.* 'Coromandel').

most ancient capital was Uraiyūr, or Old Trichinopoly, so far as is known with certainty.

Variation of political boundaries.

But the existence of well-known traditional boundaries must not be taken to justify the inference that they always agreed with the frontiers of the Chola kingdom; which latter, as a matter of fact, varied enormously. The limits of the Chola country, as determined by tradition, mark ethnic rather than political frontiers on the north and west, where they do not differ widely from the lines of demarcation between the Tamil and the other Dravidian languages—Telugu, Kanarese, Malayālam and Tulu. Tamil, however, is as much the vernacular of the Pāndya as of the Chola region, and no clear ethnical distinction can be drawn between the peoples residing north and south of the Vellāru.

Earliest notices of Chola kingdom.

The kingdom of the Cholas, which, like that of the Pāndyas, was unknown to Pānini, was familiar by name to Kātyāyana, and recognized by Asoka as independent. Inasmuch as the great Maurya's authority unquestionably extended to the south of Chitaldūrg in Mysore, and down to at least the fourteenth degree of latitude, the Pennār river probably was the northern Chola frontier in the Maurya age. In later times the frontier on both north and south was much advanced, while, on the contrary, at an intermediate date, it was greatly contracted during the period of Pallava supremacy.

Trade in ancient times.

Ancient Tamil literature and the Greek and Roman authors prove that in the first two centuries of the Christian era the ports on the Coromandel or Chola coast enjoyed the benefits of active commerce with both West and East. The Chola fleets did not confine themselves to coasting voyages, but boldly crossed the Bay of Bengal to the mouths of the Ganges and the Irrawaddy, and the Indian Ocean to the islands of the Malay Archipelago. All kinds of goods imported into Kerala or Malabar from Egypt found a ready market in the Chola territory; while, on the other hand, the western ports drew a large part of their supplies of merchandise from the bazaars of the eastern coast, which produced great quantities of cotton goods. The principal

Chola port was Kāviripaddinam, situated at the northern mouth of the Kāviri (Cauvery) river. This once wealthy city, in which the king maintained a magnificent palace, and foreign merchants found residence agreeable and profitable, has vanished, and its site lies buried under deep sand-drifts.[1]

Karikāla.

The first historical, or semi-historical, Chola king is Karikāla, who is represented by the early poets as having invaded Ceylon and carried off thence thousands of coolies to work on the embankments of the Kāviri river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed. He is said to have been contemporary with Nedunj Cheliyan Pāndya, as well as with Athem I Chera, and nearly so with Gajabāhu, king of Ceylon. This last synchronism is valuable as giving an approximate date, which may be indicated as falling within the limits of the second century A.D. Karikāla, according to the poets, was succeeded by a grandson named Ched-chenni Nalank-killi, who was succeeded in his turn by Killi-vallavam. Chen-kudduva, or Imaya-varman, a cousin of Ched-chenni Nalank-killi, is said to have been contemporary, at fifty years of age, with Gajabāhu, king of Ceylon, to whom the traditional chronology assigns the period from 113 to 125 A.D. But the true date must be considerably later.[2]

Rise of the Pallavas.

Literary references indicate that, in the second or third century A.D., the power of the Chola and other Tamil kings declined, and was superseded by the rise of the Aruvalar and similar tribes, apparently distinct in race from the Tamils.[3] The earliest known Pallava inscription has been referred on palaeographical grounds to the second century, but is more likely to be considerably later in date; and it seems probable that the mysterious Pallavas were such a tribe or clan, belonging to a stratum of the population distinct from the Tamils, and originating in the northern parts of the Chola country, or even still farther north. However that may be, a Pallava king certainly was established at Kānchī when

[1] For Kāviripaddinam, see *ante*, p. 401. *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 25, 26, 38.

[2] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 64–78; S. Krishnaswamy Aiyengar, 'Some Points in Tamil Literary History,' *Malabar Quarterly Review*, 1904. The dates in Mr. Kanakasabhai's book seem to be placed too early.

[3] *The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 44.

troops, did not examine the evidence for the kinship with Dionysos in too critical a spirit, but was glad to accept the Nysaean appeals and to exercise a gracious clemency.

In order to gratify his own curiosity, and to give some of his best troops a pleasant holiday, he paid a visit to the mountain, probably that now known as the Koh-i-Mōr, accompanied by an adequate escort of the companion cavalry and foot guards. The chants and dances of the natives, the ancestors of the Kāfirs of the present day, bore sufficient resemblance to the Bacchanalian rites of Hellas to justify the claims made by the Nysaeans, and to encourage the soldiers in their belief that, although far from home, they had at last found a people who shared their religion and might be regarded as kinsmen. Alexander humoured the convenient delusion and allowed his troops to enjoy, with the help of their native friends, a ten days' revel in the jungles. The Nysaeans, on their part, showed their gratitude for the clemency which they had experienced by contributing a contingent of three hundred horsemen, who remained with Alexander throughout the whole period of his advance, and were not sent home until October, 326 B. C., when he was about to start on his voyage down the rivers to the sea.[1] Revels.

[1] Arrian, *Anab.* v, 1, vi, 2; *Curtius*, viii, 10; *Justin*, xii, 7; Plutarch, *Alex.*, ch. lviii; *Strabo*, xv, 7–9. The conjectures concerning the identity of Nysa collected in McCrindle's Note G are unsatisfactory. Sir H. T. Holdich, whose knowledge of the frontier is unsurpassed, has been more successful, and has indicated the approximate position of Nysa with tolerable certainty. 'Elsewhere,' he writes (*Geogr. J.* for Jan., 1876), 'I have stated my reasons for believing that the Kamdesh Kafirs who sent hostages to the camp of Ghulam Haidar are descendants of those very Nysaeans who greeted Alexander as a co-religionist and compatriot, and were kindly treated by him in consequence. They had been there, in the Suwāt country bordering the slopes of the Koh-i-Mor ("Meros" of the Classics), from such ancient periods that the Makedonians could give no account of their advent; and they remained in the Suwāt country till comparatively recent Buddhist times . . . The lower spurs and valleys of the Koh-i-Mor where the ancient city of Nysa (or Nuson) once stood. Apparently it exists no longer above ground, though it may be found in the maps of thirty years ago, figuring as rather an important place under its old name . . . Bacchanalian processions . . . chanting hymns, as indeed they are chanted to this day by certain of the Kafirs' (Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, Methuen, 1901, pp. 270, 342). Properly speaking, Mēros was the name of a single peak of the triple-peaked mountain (τρικόρυφον ὄρος). The other sum-

Decline of the Pallavas.

During the early part of the eighth century the struggle for predominance in Southern India was waged between the Chalukyas of the Deccan and the Pallavas of Kānchī, the Cholas not counting for much. But the severe defeat suffered by the Pallavas at the hands of the Chalukya king, Vikramāditya, in 740 weakened the power of the kingdom of Kānchī, and gave the Cholas, who had been reduced to insignificance by the pressure of the Pallavas on the north and the Pāndyas on the south, an opportunity of recovering their position. We hear of a Chola Rāja named Vijayālaya, who came to the throne about the middle of the ninth century, and reigned for thirty-four years. His son Aditya (*circa* 880–907 A. D.) conquered Aparājita Pallava, and so finally put an end to the Pallava supremacy.

Parāntaka I.

From the date of the accession of Āditya's son and successor, Parāntaka I, in 907 A. D., the historian stands on firm chronological ground, and is embarrassed by the plethora rather than by the lack of epigraphic material. More than forty stone inscriptions of Parāntaka I were copied during the single season of 1906-7, ranging in date from his third to his forty-first year, i. e. from 909–10 to 947–8 A. D. This ambitious prince, not content with the overthrow of the Pallava power, pushed on to the extreme south, captured the Pāndya capital, Madura, drove its king into exile, and invaded Ceylon.

Chola administration.

Certain long inscriptions of Parāntaka I are of especial interest to the students of village institutions by reason of the full details which they give of the manner in which local affairs were administered by well-organized local committees, or panchāyats, exercising their extensive administrative and judicial powers under royal sanction. It is a pity that this apparently excellent system of local self-government, really popular in origin, should have died out ages ago. Modern governments would be happier if they could command equally effective local agency. The subject has been studied carefully

dated July 18, 1905, p. 48, and No. 503, dated June 27, 1907, para. 43. For the state of Cuddapah in 1800, see Hamilton, *Description of Hindostan*, 4to ed., vol. ii, p. 323.

by two native scholars, whose disquisitions are well worth reading. Whenever the mediaeval history of Southern India comes to be treated in detail, a long and interesting chapter must be devoted to the methods of Chola administration.[1]

Parāntaka I died in 949 A. D. His son, Rājāditya, who was killed in battle at Takkola by the Rāshtrakūta king, Krishnarāja III, was followed by five obscure successors, who had short and troubled reigns. Successors of Parāntaka I.

The accession in A. D. 985 of a strong ruler, Rājarāja-deva the Great, put an end to dynastic intrigue, and placed at the head of the Chola state a man qualified to make it the leading power in the south. In the course of a busy reign of twenty-seven years, Rājarāja passed from victory to victory, and, when he died, was beyond dispute the Lord Paramount of Southern India, ruling a realm which included nearly the whole of the Madras Presidency, Ceylon, and a large part of Mysore. *acc.* 985 A. D. Rājarāja the Great.

He began his career of conquest by the destruction of the Chera fleet, and in the fourteenth year of his reign his acquisitions on the mainland comprised the Eastern Chalukya kingdom of Vengī, formerly held by the Pallavas, Coorg, the Pāndya country, and extensive regions in the tableland of the Deccan. During the next three years, Quilon (Kollam) on the Malabar coast, and the northern kingdom of Kalinga were added to his dominions. Protracted campaigns in Ceylon next occupied Rājarāja, and resulted in the annexation of the island in the twentieth year of his reign. In or about 1001 A. D. he sheathed the sword and spent the rest of his life in peace. From 1011 his son Rājendra became his colleague, in accordance with Chola custom. Conquest of Ceylon, &c.

The ancient enmity between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas was inherited by the Chola power which had succeeded to the premier rank formerly enjoyed by the Pallavas, and led to a four years' war, ending in the defeat of the War with Chalukyas.

[1] S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, 'The Chola Administration, 900–1300 A.D.' (*Madras Review*, 1903); V. Venkayya, 'Irrigation in Southern India in Ancient Times' (*Archæol. Survey Annual Rep.*, 1903–4, pp. 203–11).

Chalukyas, who had not long been freed from subjection to the Rāshtrakūtas.

Naval operations. Rājarāja did not confine his operations to the land. He possessed a powerful navy, and his last martial exploit was the acquisition of a large number of unspecified islands, meaning, perhaps, the Laccadives and Maldives.

Temple at Tanjore. The magnificent temple at his capital Tanjore (Tanjūvūr), built by his command, the walls of which are engraved with the story of his victories, stands to this day as a memorial of Rājarāja's brilliant career.[1]

Buddhism. But, although himself a worshipper of Siva, he was sufficiently liberal-minded to endow a Burmese Buddhist temple at the port of Negapatam, where two such temples continued to be the object of foreign pilgrimages until the fifteenth century. One of them, probably that endowed by Rājarāja, survived in a ruinous condition until 1867, when the remains of it were pulled down by the Jesuit Fathers, and utilized for the construction of Christian buildings.[2]

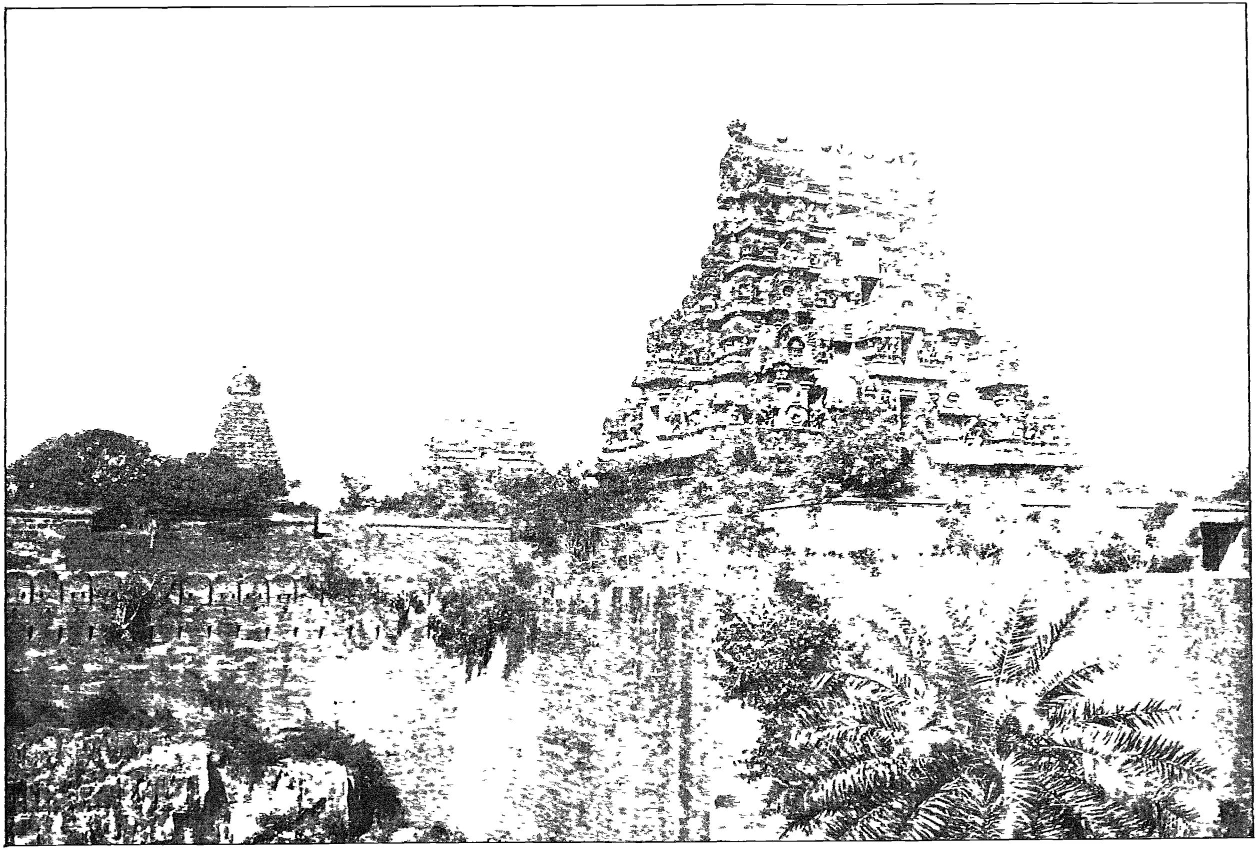
Rājendra I, Gangai-konda, *acc.* 1018 A.D. Rājendra-Choladeva I, surnamed Gangai-konda, son and successor of Rājarāja, continued his father's ambitious career, with added vigour and even more conspicuous success. His fleet, crossing the Bay of Bengal, attacked and captured Kadāram (Kidāram), the ancient capital of the kingdom of Prome or Pegu, and also the seaports of Takkolam and Matama, or Martaban, on the same coast. The fall of these towns involved the temporary annexation of the whole kingdom of Pegu to the Chola empire.[3] Two granite pillars still standing at the town of Pegu are believed to have been set up by the Chola king to commemorate his conquest, which was effected in the years 1025–7 A.D.[4] The annexation of

[1] A characteristic specimen of his coinage is shown in Fig. 15 of the plate of coins.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vii, 224, with plates; *Madras G. O.*, *Public*, Nos. 922, 923, dated Aug. 19, 1899.

[3] V. Kanakasabhai, 'The Conquest of Bengal and Burma by the Tamils' (*Madras Review*, p. 251, ? year). Kidāram, or Tharekhettra is eight miles west of Prome (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 6, 160). Takkolam = Takōla of Ptolemy (Bk. vii, ch. 2, 5; *Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 372), and is now called Ayethema (ibid., xxi, 383), some miles from the present coast.

[4] *Archæol. S. Burma, Progr. Rep.*, 1906–7, p. 19.



THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE

from outside the fort wall

the Nicobar (Nakkavāram) and Andaman islands followed on the conquest of Pegu.

During the earlier years of his reign Rājendra-Choladeva had occupied himself with a succession of wars against the northern powers. He came into collision even with Mahīpāla, the Parihār king of Kanauj, and brought his army to the banks of the Ganges. In memory of this exploit he assumed the title of Gangaikonda, and built a new capital city, which he called Gangaikonda-Cholapuram. Near the city he constructed a vast artificial lake, with an embankment sixteen miles long, fully provided with the necessary sluices and channels for the irrigation of a large area. A gigantic temple, in which a *lingam* was enshrined, formed of a black granite monolith thirty feet high, and a magnificent palace adorned the city. The ruins of these structures, sadly defaced by the ravages of modern utilitarians in search of building material, still stand in lonely grandeur in a desolate region of the Trichinopoly District. The Pāndya dominions continued to be subject to the Chola domination during the reign of Rājendra Gangaikonda, and were administered by his son as Viceroy, with the title of Chola-Pāndya.[1] His wars and capital.

Rājādhirāja, eldest son of Rājendra, who had been his father's colleague since 1018, succeeded him in 1035 A.D., and continued the never-ending fight with all the neighbouring powers.[2] He fell in the fierce struggle with the Chalukya army at the battle of Koppam in 1052 or 1053 A.D., which determined that the Tungabhadrā river should be the frontier between the rival Chola and Chalukya empires. Notwithstanding the death of Rājādhirāja, the fortunes of the day were retrieved by his brother Rājendra Parakesarivarman, who was crowned on the battle-field as his successor. Rājādhirāja; *yuvarāja* 1018 A.D.; king 1035 A.D.

The customary wars went on during the reigns of this king

[1] *Report on Epigraphy*, in *Madras G. O. Public*, No. 503, dated June 27, 1907, para. 25.

[2] The Chola practice of appointing the Crown Prince, or *yuvarāja*, as his father's colleague causes the regnal years to overlap. The chronology has been settled by Prof. Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.* viii, App. ii, 26). The references in detail to inscriptions can be traced through the paper cited. Later discoveries will be found in the *Reports on Epigraphy* in *Madras G. O., Public*, No. 492, dated July 2, 1906; and No. 503, dated June 27, 1907.

Battle of Kūdal Sangamam.

and three kings who succeeded him, but few of the details are worthy of remembrance. A notable incident was the battle of Kūdal Sangamam, fought at the junction of the Krishnā and Tungabhadrā rivers, in which the Chalukyas suffered a severe defeat at the hands of Vīrarājendra Chola (acc. 1062-3 A.D.). In the civil war between the brothers and rival claimants to the Chalukya throne—Somesvara II and Vikramāditya—Vīrarājendra took the side of the latter, and gave him his daughter in marriage.

Kulottuṅga, *acc.* 1070 A.D.

Kulottunga, otherwise called Rājendra-Chola II, the son of the daughter of Rājendra I, Gangaikonda, ruled for forty-nine years, from 1070 to 1118 A.D. There is some obscurity concerning the manner in which he attained supreme power. Late in his reign he reconquered Kalinga, the modern Ganjām and Vizagapatam Districts, defeating the Eastern Ganga king, Anantavarman Choda. His internal administration was distinguished by the execution of an elaborate revision of the revenue survey in 1086.

Rāmānuja

The celebrated philosopher, Rāmānuja, the most venerated teacher of the Vaishnava Hindus in the south, received his education at Kānchī, and resided at Srīrangam near Trichinopoly during the reign of Kulottunga; but, owing to the hostility of the king, who professed the Saiva faith, was obliged to retire into Mysore territory until Kulottunga's death freed him from anxiety. The holy man then returned to Srīrangam, where he remained until his decease.

Vikrama Choḷa, *acc.* 1118 A.D.

Vikrama Chola, the son and successor of Kulottunga, continued to fight with his neighbours according to precedent, and seems to have succeeded in maintaining the predominant position of his dynasty.[1] The next three kings, who had short reigns, were not notable in any way.

Kulottuṅga III, *acc.* 1278 A.D.

The last Chola king of any importance was Kulottunga Chola III, who reigned for about forty years from 1278 A.D. The succession was then disputed, and the Chola princes sank into a position of insignificance. For a time the Pāndyas in the south reasserted themselves and gained the upper hand,

[1] The exploits of Vikrama Chola are the subject of a Tamil poem of some merit, entitled *Vikrama-Choḷan-Ulā* (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 142).

until 1310, when the power of all the Hindu states in Southern India was broken by the successes of Malik Kāfūr's Muhammadan army.

SECTION IV

The Pallavas

Who were the Pallavas? Whence did they come? How did they attain the chief place among the powers of the south? To these questions no definite answer can be given at present. Origin of the Pallavas.

The name Pallava resembles Pahlava so closely that Dr. Fleet and other writers have been disposed to favour the hypothesis that Pallavas and Pahlavas were identical, and that consequently the Southern Pallava dynasty of Kānchī should be considered as of Persian origin. But recent research does not support this hypothesis, which was treated as probable in the first edition of this work; and it seems more likely that the Pallavas were a tribe, clan, or caste which was formed in the northern part of the existing Madras Presidency, possibly in the Vengī country, between the Krishnā and the Godāvarī. The persistent hostility of the Pallavas to the territorial Tamil states, and the fact that tradition does not assign any recognized territorial limits to the Pallava dominion are indications that the Pallavas were distinct in race from the Tamils, and that their rule was superimposed upon that of the Rājas of the Pāndya, Chola, and Chera countries, the three states which together covered the whole area of the south, according to constant tradition. If we suppose that the Pallavas, like the Marāthās of the eighteenth century, were a predatory, blackmailing clan or tribe, which gradually acquired by force almost complete control of the Chola state, and partial mastery over the other Tamil kingdoms, I think that the known facts will be found to accord with such a supposition.

The Rāja of the Pudukottai tributary principality, who is the recognized head of the Kallar tribe, still styles himself Rāja Pallava, and claims descent from the ancient royal Castes connected with Pallavas.

family. The Kallars, as Sir Walter Elliot observes, 'belong to what have been called the predatory classes,' and their 'bold, indomitable, and martial habits' agree well with the characteristics of the ancient Pallavas as known from history. Until recent times the Kallars exercised a formidable control over the peaceable inhabitants of the Carnatic, from whom they levied blackmail in return for protection, just as the Marāthās levied similar contributions under the name of *chauth*. It seems to be highly probable that the political power of the Pallavas was exercised in a similar manner, its extent varying according to the variations in the relative strength of the ancient Tamil states and the usurping tribesmen. The Palli caste and certain sections of the Vellāla agricultural caste, which is proverbially associated with the Kallar and Maravar robber tribes, also claim a connexion with the Pallavas.[1] It may well be that the so-called 'predatory classes', in which the Pallavas apparently should be reckoned, belong to a section of the population distinct from and more ancient than the Tamils.[2]

Earliest Pallava kings.

Certain ancient copper-plate inscriptions of Pallava kings have been supposed for palaeographical reasons to be as old as the second century A.D., but recent expert opinion is disposed to assign to them a date two or three centuries later. All authors are agreed in regarding as a Pallava the Rāja Vishnugopa of Kānchī, who was defeated by Samudragupta about 340 A.D.; and it is possible that Hastivarman, the contemporary Rāja of Vengī, also may have been a Pallava. The names Vishnugopa and Hastivarman both

[1] Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, pp. 42-4. 'The caste of *Kullars*, or robbers, who exercise their calling as an hereditary right, is found only in the Marava country, which borders on the coast, or fishing, districts. The rulers of the country are of the same caste. They regard a robber's occupation as discreditable neither to themselves nor to their fellow castemen, for the simple reason that they consider robbery a duty and a right sanctioned by descent. They are not ashamed of their caste or occupation, and if one were to ask of a *Kullar* to what people he belonged, he would coolly answer, "I am a robber." This caste is looked upon in the district of Madura, where it is widely diffused, as one of the most distinguished among the Sudras' (Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, by Beauchamp, 3rd ed., p. 17).

[2] Kaḍavan, 'the forester,' is a Tamil equivalent of the Sanskrit Pallava (*Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 143).



THE GANĒSA RATHA AT MĀMALLAIPURAM
(*one of the 'Seven Pagodas'*)

occur in Pallava genealogies, and one of the grants made by Simhavarman Pallava, perhaps in the fifth century, was executed in Vengorāshtra, which seems to mean the kingdom of Vengī. Provisionally, I am disposed to agree with Sir Walter Elliot in believing that the Pallavas advanced southwards from Vengī, but the material on which to base a positive opinion does not exist.[1] Samudragupta's inscription is good evidence to prove that the Pallavas had occupied Kānchī (Conjeeveram) as their capital at least as early as the beginning of the fourth century.

Simhavishnu. From the second half of the sixth century, when Chalukya history begins, until the overthrow of the Chalukya power by the Rāshtrakūtas, in 753 A.D., the Pallavas and Chalukyas remained constantly in touch and generally at war, each power striving to acquire for itself the mastery of the south. During this period of about two centuries the Pallava royal genealogy for nine reigns, beginning with Simhavishnu (acc. *circ.* 575 A.D.), is well ascertained.[2] Simhavishnu claims to have inflicted defeats on the kings of Ceylon and the three Tamil states.

Mahendravarman I; his public works. Mahendravarman I, son and successor of Simhavishnu (*cir.* 600 to 625 A.D.) has immortalized his name by the excavation of many rock-cut temples in the Trichinopoly, Chingleput, North Arcot, and South Arcot Districts, including some of the famous 'Seven Pagodas' at Mahāvalipur or Māmallapuram, to the south of Madras. His fame is also preserved by the ruins of the city of Mahendravādi, between Arcot and Arkonam, and of a great reservoir, the Mahendra tank, near the same. A cave temple dedicated to Vishnu exists on the bank of the tank.[3]

His wars. In war Mahendravarman encountered a formidable rival in

[1] *Coins of Southern India*, p. 39. The genealogy of some of the early Rājas is given by Prof. Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind*, viii, App. II, p. 19).

[2] Full details given by Prof. Kielhorn (op. cit., p. 20).

[3] *Report on Epigraphy* in *Madras G. O., Public*, No. 518, dated July 18, 1905, p. 47; *Archæol. S. Annual Rep.*, 1903–4, p 203. In 1882, when Mr. Sewell inserted a note on Mahendravāḍi in his *Lists of Antiquities, Madras*, vol. i, p. 162, the Pallava origin of the remains was not known. A work on Pallava Architecture, by Mr. A. Rea, is in the press.

the person of the ambitious Chalukya monarch, Pulakēsin II, who boasted of having inflicted a severe defeat on the Pallava king about 609 or 610 A.D. At or about the same time the Chalukya king annexed the province of Vengī, and it is probable, although not positively proved, that it was taken from the Pallavas. Mahendravarman, on his side, plumed himself on a defeat or repulse of the Chalukya forces.

Narasimha-varman, *cir.* 625–45 A.D.

The Pallava power attained its highest point in the reign of Mahendravarman's successor, Narasimha-varman I (*cir.* 625–45 A.D.). In 642 A.D. he enjoyed the satisfaction of taking Vātāpi, the capital of his enemy, Pulakēsin II, who presumably then lost his life. It is certain that the reverse was so crushing that the Chalukya power remained in abeyance for thirteen years, while the Pallava king became beyond dispute the most influential sovereign in the south, and extended his jurisdiction far into Mysore and the Deccan.

Hiuen Tsang at Kānchī, 640 A.D

Hiuen Tsang, who visited Kānchī in the year 640 A.D., during the reign of Narasimha-varman I, and stayed there for a considerable time, calls the country of which Kānchī was the capital by the name of Drāvida, and describes it as being about a thousand miles in circuit. It corresponded, therefore, very closely with the traditional 'Chola country' between the Northern Pennār and the Southern Vellāru rivers. The soil was fertile and regularly cultivated, producing abundance of grain, flowers, and fruits. The capital was a large city five or six miles in circumference. In the kingdom the pilgrim found several hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, occupied by a large number of monks, estimated at ten thousand, all attached, like the majority of the Ceylonese, to the Sthavira school of the Mahāyāna. The Hindu temples numbered about four score, and, as in other parts of Southern India, the sect of nude, or Digambara, Jains had many adherents. In the Pāndya country farther south Buddhism was almost extinct. Kānchī enjoyed special fame among the Buddhists as having been the birth-place of Dharmapāla, a celebrated metaphysician, who was the predecessor of

Hiuen Tsang's teacher Sīlabhadra in the headship of the great monastery at Nālanda.[1]

Paramesvara-varman.

In or about 655 A.D., Vikramāditya I Chalukya, a son of Pulakēsin, retrieved the fortunes of his family, and recovered his father's dominions from Paramesvara-varman, who had succeeded to the Pallava throne. During this war Kānchī, the Pallava capital, was taken and occupied for a time by the Chalukyas. On the other hand, the Pallavas claimed the gain of a victory at Peruvalanallūr.

Nandivarman.

The perennial conflict continued during succeeding reigns. In 740 A.D. Kānchī was captured once more by Vikramāditya II Chalukya, who inflicted on Nandivarman Pallava a defeat so decisive that the event may be regarded as the beginning of the end of the Pallava supremacy. Nandivarman, who had succeeded Narasimha-varman II about 720 A.D., was a collateral relative of that prince, being descended from a brother of King Simhavishnu. The change in the line of succession is stated to have been the result of a popular election; and a curious series of sculptures, accompanied by explanatory labels, still extant in a mutilated form at the Vaikuntha Perumāl temple in Conjeeveram (Kānchī), seems to have been designed as a record of the dynastic revolution.[2]

Aparājita.

Nandivarman reigned for about half a century, and was succeeded by Aparājita, who vanquished the Pāndya king, Varaguna II, at the battle of Srī-Purambiya, but was himself overcome by Āditya Chola about the close of the ninth century.[3] From that time the Pallava supremacy, which had been severely shaken by the Chalukya successes in 740, finally passed away and was transferred to the Cholas, who, as already narrated, brought all the southern kingdoms under their control more or less completely during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

During their period of decline the Pallava chiefs managed

[1] Beal, *Records*, ii, 228-30; *Life*, pp. 138-40; *Watters*, ii, 226-8; I-tsing, *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, transl. Takakusu; pp. xix, lvii, lviii, 179, 181.

[2] *Report on Epigraphy* in *Madras G. O., Public*, No. 492, dated July 2, 1906, paras. 2-4.

[3] *Reports on Epigraphy* in *Madras G. O., Public*, No. 492, dated July 2, 1906, paras. 9, 25; and No. 503, dated June 27, 1907, paras. 8, 19-24.

Wars with Rāshtrakūtas.

to do some fighting on their own account. When the Rāshtrakūtas supplemented the Chalukyas in the middle of the eighth century, the traditional hostility between the leading power of the Deccan and its southern enemy was not abated, and the new rulers took up the old quarrel with the Pallavas. King Dhruva, a cousin of Dantidurga, who had overthrown the Chalukya dynasty, inflicted a defeat on the Pallavas about 775 A.D.; and his son, Govinda III, levied tribute from Dantiga, Rāja of Kānchī, in 803 A.D.

The Gangas.

During the tenth century we hear of wars between the Pallavas and the Ganga kings of Gangavādi, or Mysore, who are now commonly known as the Western Gangas, in order to distinguish them from the family of the same name which ruled Kalinga in the east, and held court at Kalinganagaram, the modern Mukhalingam in the Ganjām District. The most notable king of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga was Anantavarman Chodaganga, who reigned for seventy-two years from 1076 to 1147 A.D., and carved out for himself a considerable kingdom, extending from the Ganges to the Godāvarī. He built the temple of Jagannāth at Puri.[1]

The last of the Pallavas.

The later Pallava chiefs sank into the position of mere feudatory nobles and officials in the service of the territorial kingdoms; and it is on record that the Pallava Rāja took the first place among the feudatories of King Vikrama Chola early in the twelfth century.[2] The Rājas can be traced as in possession of limited local power down to the thirteenth century, and Pallava nobles are mentioned as late as the close of the seventeenth century. After that time all trace of the Pallavas as a distinct race or clan disappears, and their blood is now merged in that of the Kallar, Palli, and Vellāla castes.[3]

[1] Manmohan Chakravarti, 'Chronology of the Eastern Ganga kings of Orissa,' an excellent monograph in *J. A. S. B.*, vol. lxxii, part i (1903). For Mukhalingan, about twenty miles distant from Parla-Kimedi, see *Ep. Ind.*, iv, 183–93, and *Madras G. O., Public*, Nos. 827–9, dated Aug. 25, 1902. The history of the Western Gangas has been discussed by Dr. Fleet in *Kanarese Dynasties*.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, xxii, 143.

[3] The contents of the Pallava inscriptions as known up to 1896 are summarized by Fleet in *Bomb. Gaz.* (1896), vol. i, part ii, 'Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,' 2nd ed. Recent discoveries are de-

In religion the Pallavas were, so far as is known, orthodox Hindus; with the exception of one chief, Simhavarman, who is described explicitly as a lay worshipper of Buddha, and as having presented an image at Amarāvatī.[1] Several of the princes were devoted to the worship of Vishnu;[2] but in later times the Rājas inclined to the cult of Siva, and adopted the figure of a bull, the emblem of that god, as the family crest. Hiuen Tsang's narrative proves that both Buddhism and Jainism enjoyed full toleration under the Pallava government. Religion.

scribed in *S. I. Inscriptions*, the annual *Progress Reports* of the Madras Archaeol. Survey, and Kielhorn's *List* and *Supplement* (*Ep. Ind.*, vii, viii, App.).

[1] Amarāvatī inscr. No. 32 (*S. I. Inscr.*, vol. i, p. 25).

[2] E. g. Attivarmā, (Hastivarman), Vijayaskanda-varman, and Vishnu-gopa-varman.

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CORRIGENDA

PAGE

24, note. *For* 'Yudhisthira' *read* 'Yudhishṭhira'.

42, l. 22. *For* 'Vīndhya-vāsa' *read* 'Vindhya-vāsa'.

50, l. 11. *For* 'both by' *read* 'by both'.

218, note, l. 18. *For* 'Renaud' *read* 'Reinaud'.

305, l. 1. *For* 'Cambey' *read* 'Cambay'.

349, ll. 5–9. *Dele* 'Early in the eighth century a ruler of Kanauj named Harchandar is mentioned, but nothing is known about him. The successor of Harchandar seems to have been'; *substitute* 'After Harsha's death the earliest known king of Kanauj was'.

Dele note 1. On reconsideration I am satisfied that Sir H. M. Elliot (*History*, i, 207, 208) was mistaken in supposing the author of the *Chach-nāmah* to refer to Kanauj on the Ganges. Major Raverty was right in interpreting the passages as referring to Ḳinnauj, a dependency of Multān, which lay to the north-east of the kingdom of Sind (Alor). (Raverty, 'The Mihrān of Sind,' *J. A. S. B.*, part i, vol. lxi (1892), pp. 206–8, 254; *Notes on Afghanistan*, pp. 509, 566, 571.)

,, note 2. *For* 'Chavannes, *Les Turcs Occidentaux*, p. 166, note 7' *read* 'Stein, transl. *Rājat.*, bk. iv, v. 134 note, referring to Pauthier'.

,, note 3. *Add* 'Lévi and Chavannes, 'Itin. d'Oukong', *J. A.*, 1895, p. 353. These scholars fix the date as lying between 736 and 747 A. D.

354, note, l. 7; p. 355, note 1, l. 4. *For* '*Elliot*, i' *read* '*Elliot*, ii'.

364, l. 13. *For* '249–50 A. D.' *read* '248–9 A. D.' Prof. Kielhorn now holds that 'the Kalachuri (Chēdi) era commenced on the 5th September, A. D. 248' (*Ep. Ind.*, ix, 129, with reference to *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 53 ff.).

367, note 3, l. 1. *For* '*jay-askandhāvāra*' *read* '*jaya-skandhāvāra*'.

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